The University of Chicago

THE SUBURBS OF CLEVELAND

A FIELD STUDY OF THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT OUTSIDE THE ADMINISTRATIVE AREA OF THE CITY

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
JUNE, 1941

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MARY SCHAUFFLER

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INTRODUCTION

The modern city, unlike its predecessor of ancient and mediaeval times, is a city without a wall. Its people and services tend to spread out over increasing areas unrestricted by the limitations that geographic boundaries place upon its administrative functions. New villages populated largely by city migrants have sprung up just beyond its political limits and already established villages and towns at greater distance have come within the orbit of its influence. Within recent decades these suburbs and satellite towns or cities together with the rural interstices and fringes have tended to become more and more integrated with the central city and with one another through the central city. This new type of urban community, the metropolitan region, has been made possible through technological advances especially in transportation and communication. The private automobile, telephone, radio, and daily newspaper, and the possible extension of sanitary services, of electricity, gas, and water from the city into the outlying areas, have been dominant factors in its evolution.

An aspect of particular significance to the city proper in connection with the rise of the metropolitan region is the redistribution of the population. In the decade 1920-30, the increase in population in the metropolitan districts outside the central city was twice as great as the increase in the city itself.[1] Urbanization of a growing proportion of the population of the country continues, but the urban people are concentrating to a decreasing degree in the central city and to an increasing degree in the suburban area of the metropolitan region. While there is constant movement of population between the central city and the suburban areas, the latter are gaining steadily at the expense of the quantity and

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[1] The increase of population of the central cities between 1920 and 1930 was 19.4 per cent. Increase in population in metropolitan districts outside the central city was 39.2 per cent. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Metropolitan Districts (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 7.

quality of population within the city proper. In regard to this redistribution, the National Resources Committee states:

> The central cities contain a declining proportion of the total population of the metropolitan districts, indicating that metropolitan growth is in even larger degree than formerly a suburban trend. But what might at first glance appear to be a decentralization of population, therefore, is revealed to be merely a redistribution of the urban population within the metropolitan region or a dispersion from the central city into the adjacent suburban periphery. It is not a general devolution of cities or a flight from the city. What is actually happening is, rather, the urbanite is steadily being transformed into the suburbanite.[1]

The suburban trend of urban population is having rather widespread repercussions upon the central city. In the redistribution, the higher economic and social classes are moving out of the older deteriorating residential neighborhoods of the city into the suburbs and, if they are replaced, it is generally by people of lower economic and social status. It is easier to move to a new community than it is "to remake an old settled area and to give it a new character."[2] As the "old settled areas" deteriorate into "blighted areas," their land values tend to decline. With the reduction in land values comes shrinkage in municipal property taxes. On this point McKenzie says:

> It is a common observation that this decline has been great and is probably proceeding at an accelerated rate. So rapid has been the decline that in many cities the revenue from taxation of real estate has been shrinking to an alarming extent.[3]

With the soaring costs of municipal government since the first decade of the twentieth century, any reduction in property taxes becomes a serious matter, especially when the chief source of municipal revenues is property taxes. At the same time, it is common knowledge that blighted areas place increased financial demands upon the city for relief, police and fire protection, public health work, and housing.

Further, the increasing financial obligations of the central city are being borne, in no small measure, in order to provide

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[1]National Resources Committee, Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy, A Report Prepared by the Urbanism Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 35.

[2]Homer Hoyt, One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise in Its Land Values, 1830-1933 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 363.

[3]R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 233.

facilities and services necessary to the common life of the metropolitan region. Public utilities, roads, transportation systems, hospitals, libraries, public halls, and parks are some of the improvements for which the city carries the bonded indebtedness, but which are available alike to city and suburban population. On one hand, the common use of the transportation facilities, of vital public services, of recreational, social, and cultural opportunities provided by the city and the shared industrial and commercial life centered in the city integrate the ever outward moving population into a community; on the other hand, the political independence of suburbs and satellite cities enables them to assume the role of interested spectator while the city provides and administers facilities and services for their use as well as its own. These municipal corporations, with full power to perform local public tasks and to control their local environment, maintain their political separatism within the functionally integrated region. By so doing they evade the larger community responsibilities and their financial costs.

The lack of trained and efficient officials in the administration of urban affairs is also intensified by the migration of the more competent into the suburbs. Rigid residential requirements frequently prevent well qualified individuals from serving the larger community in one capacity or another, even if their physical hegira from the city did not represent a desire to escape civic responsibilities.

The Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee points out that political separatism now existing within the metropolitan communities must be broken down or urban life will disintegrate.

> Unless the boundaries of the political city can be stretched to include its suburban and satellite industrial and residential colonies, the economic and social base,upon which rests the welfare of both those who remain in the city and those who seek a partial escape from it, will eventually disintegrate. For no community in a democratic society can long remain a sound functionating organism, if those among its members who gain the greatest benefits from it escape from most of the obligations communal life imposes, and if those who obtain the least returns in the way of necessities and amenities of life are left to bear the brunt of civic responsibility and taxation. If an orderly development and a higher level of life for the people of the imposing supercities are to be attained, some measures calculated to endow them with the capacity to act collectively as a political unit are indispensable.[1]

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[1]National Resources Committee, op. cit., p. 68.

The city of Cleveland has, within the last half century, developed its metropolitan region, as have the other large cities of this country, and is facing the problems common to metropolitan centers from the flight of population to the suburbs. In its endeavor to solve these problems, it has advocated, without success so far, some form of coordination in county government[1] and annexation of the larger adjacent suburbs. While a form of centralized county government to replace the one hundred and ten municipal administrative and district boards would alleviate the present situation, it would not necessarily constitute a true metropolitan regional government. As the first chapter of this study shows, the region extends beyond county lines, and a county government would present the same anomaly of confining a social entity within legally constituted limits as is found in all efforts to give definitive spacial location to integrated agglomerations of population. Thus far, none of the larger suburbs has shown any inclination to be annexed to Cleveland. The crux of the difficulty in bringing about either kind of political collective action within the Cleveland Metropolitan Region lies in the unwillingness of the suburbs to surrender any of their political independence.

The reluctance on the part of a suburb to become more closely affiliated politically with the central city seems to grow out of the causes that brought it into existence and the nature of the entity that it is. The suburb, as commonly conceived, is a local community on the periphery and outside the boundaries of the central city, dependent upon it for essential services though politically independent of it. This definition has been found useful for purposes of investigation, not only in this study but in those that have preceded it.[2] From the point of view of the soci-

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[1]In November, 1927, the mayor of Cleveland, persuaded by certain civic and business organizations and the press of greater Cleveland, appointed a Regional Government Committee of "400." This committee introduced into the lower house of the General Assembly a constitutional amendment providing for thoroughgoing changes in the form and organization of county government. Certain suburbs, suburban mayors, and the Home Rule League, an association of small municipalities, were among the most powerful opponents which prevented a vote on the floor of the House. Since that time there has been almost continuous agitation to bring about some changes in the present political set-up in Cuyahoga County. Layton Carter, "Progress toward Metropolitan Government in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County," National Municipal Review, XVIII (1929), 2-70.

[2]Clarence Glick, "Winnetka: A Study of a Residential Sub-

ologist, the suburb is a particular kind of local community which may be differentiated from the local community within the city and from the satellite city by its degree of dependence upon the metropolis and by its internal structure to secure and maintain standards of living expressive of the economic and social status and aspirations of its people.

In general, the suburb occupies a mid-position between the local community within the city and the satellite town in its degree of dependence upon the city. Through its political independence, which the local community within municipal confines does not have, the suburb does not ordinarily look to the city for police and fire protection, or garbage and rubbish collection, for maintenance of streets and local parks, and for schools. The local community within the city has no direct control over its immediate environment in these respects. It may have representation upon some administrative board functioning for the city as a whole or may appeal to such body, but it cannot legally act to supply its own needs. It must take what the city gives it in the way of public services. But both are alike in deriving their economic life from the industrial and commercial activities of the urban community as a whole and in looking to the city for those more impersonal social and cultural activities which their own voluntary associations do not supply.

On the other hand, the suburb is more closely integrated with the city than is the satellite town. The suburb is more apt to be located closer to the city in transportation time than the satellite, but less apt to have an independent origin. Even when the suburb has its genesis in some village or rural community, it takes on its suburban character as the result of the influx of city people who desire the maximum of urban advantages and the minimum of its disadvantages. The satellite is less dependent upon the metropolis for its source of population. Further, the suburb, while having the same political independence as the satellite, is a less complete community within itself. The suburb seems most

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urban Community" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1928). George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerny, Leisure: A Surburban Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934). H. Paul Douglass, The Suburban Trend (New York: The Century Company, 1925). These three important studies have implicitly proceeded upon the definition of the suburb given above as the basis for investigation. In fact, no research concerning the suburb has been found which did not use the politically designated area as the unit for investigation.

definitely differentiated from the satellite in its segmental character. Whatever the type of suburb, it never provides for as wide a range of needs for its people as does the satellite. The latter could continue to exist, although probably inconvenienced and hampered in its development, without the city; the former could not without fundamental changes in its structure. The satellite city is a relatively well organized, well integrated, politically independent urban community within the orbit of the metropolitan city's influence, depending upon the city for all those specialized and "super" facilities of commerce, communication, recreation, and culture offered only at a center of a large supporting population. Since the suburb is not so complete in itself, it must turn to the city, not only for all that the satellite does, but for those aspects of living which it does not provide. What these aspects of living are depends upon the type of suburb.

In the process of segregation by which individuals mainly of like economic and social status are selected out of the general population and located in areas beyond the periphery of the city, each suburb becomes distinguished from every other suburb. Three general types, however, may be differentiated on the basis of functional relationship between city and suburb: the residential, the industrial, and the special functional. As the name implies, the residential suburb provides a place to live which is relatively free "from the congestion of the city proper and from many of the conditions which accompany such congestion,"[1] but it does not provide a place to work for the majority of its people. Its working population are daily commuters to and from the city. On the basis of economic, occupational, and social level, residential suburbs range from wealthy suburbs where the rich managerial and professional elite live to poor workingmen's suburbs. There are also residential suburbs where the majority of the population are foreign-born or children of the foreign-born, and others made up dominantly of native-born individuals. In the industrial suburb,[2] people not only have their homes but a large proportion also find employment there.[3] For this reason the industrial suburb is more

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[1]Niles Carpenter, The Sociology of City Life (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932), p. 104.

[2]Because of its employment self-sufficiency, some writers have identified the industrial suburb with the satellite city.

[3]Douglass calls that suburb "industrial" where the ratio

economically self-sufficient than the residential suburb, but it is not self-sustaining either. The financial and marketing aspects of its industries are carried on in the central city and frequently the industry is managed from a city office. It is as dependent, if not more so, upon the metropolis for its social and cultural life and specialized services. The special suburb is one whose activities are almost exclusively centered around one interest, "not primarily economic in character,"[1] and whose population is subject to daily or seasonal fluctuations, or both. Douglass has pointed out four kinds of special suburbs: educational, whose core of life is some school or university; institutional, surrounding some penal or social welfare institution; government, or "minor political capital"; and recreational, catering to commercialized sports and games.[2]

While the suburb has been recognized as a significant type of community (and a useful classification of suburbs has been worked out), the suburb has received little intensive study. The city, in contrast, has been investigated from every angle. Historians, economists, political scientists, geographers, and sociologists have selected one or another phase of city life as a subject for research. In most publications on the city, the suburb has been ignored, or, by implication, included as part of the city, or dismissed with a few paragraphs as a relatively unimportant appendix to the city. As the administrative, financial, and population problems, already mentioned, created by the suburb for the city have come to be more generally recognized, the suburb, as a political entity, has taken on new significance. Administrators are now asking, at least in Cleveland, whether the living conditions found in the suburbs can be duplicated in the city and thus keep city families in the city.[3] This raises the question whether municipal housing programs, slum clearance, ordinances to reduce

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between industrial wage earners and total population is greater in the suburb than in the parent city. Douglass, op. cit., p. 87.

[1] Ibid., p. 113.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "The Metropolitan Housing Authority and the Regional Association have seen the implications of the 1940 Census, which showed Cleveland proper losing its population to the suburbs, where living conditions have been, on the average, so much better than those in the city. They recognize that if the city can make itself an attractive place in which to live, thousands will be induced to remain here, closer to their work." "Building a New Cleveland," editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 26, 1940.

noise and smoke, and efforts to provide more efficient public services will provide an urban environment which can compete successfully with the suburban environment. The assumption that providing better physical conditions in the city will stop the flight to the suburb appears based upon too superficial knowledge of the character of suburban environment and life. It seems that the non-material as well as the material aspects of suburban life will need to be studied and understood before the city can plan, with any possibility of success, to keep its present population.

It was in the hope of discovering the forces which account for the migration of residents from central city to suburban areas, and for the unwillingness of suburbs to surrender any part of their political independence, that this study was undertaken. In order to gain some insight into these practical issues, four residential suburbs in the Cleveland Metropolitan Region were selected and compared with each other and, as far as data were available, with the central city with respect to physical and social structure, standards of living, mobility of family, dependence upon Cleveland, and attitudes toward the community. These comparisons were made in the endeavor to find out (1) the racial, ethnic, economic, and status factors underlying the selection of population in the residential suburb and in different types of residential suburbs; (2) the factors contributing to the growth and successful development of residential suburbs from the standpoint of location and structure; (3) the degree of dependence of the different types of residential suburbs upon the central city; (4) the degree of homogeneity in standards of living within one suburb and the degree of difference between residential suburbs; and (5) the factors influencing stability of population within the residential suburb. It was assumed that residential suburbs would vary more or less among themselves but that, for any character essentially suburban, there would appear sufficient likeness amid variation to serve to differentiate the suburbs from the city. Further, it was hoped that it would be possible to find out in what respects and to what degree the residential suburbs carry on the round of functions which would constitute them into relatively complete communities and the extent to which they are merely administrative entities.

The four residential suburbs selected for analysis and comparison were Lakewood, East Cleveland, Shaker Heights, and Parma. These four present differences in location, in origin, in rate of

growth, in economic level, and social prestige. Lakewood and Parma are west of the Cuyahoga River, and East Cleveland and Shaker Heights are east. Lakewood and East Cleveland have both developed slowly from independent rural villages into large communities within half a century. Lakewood is an upper-middle-class, stable suburb; East Cleveland, a middle-class suburb in process of change which threatens its residential character. Shaker Heights and Parma are both young and rapidly growing suburbs but small as compared with the other two. Both developed under the influence of real estate promotion. Shaker Heights represents a rural area developed by one real estate company as a planned high-grade residential suburb. Parma, a later development, is a workingman's suburb, still in the process of emergence from a rural area whose farms have been subdivided into lots during the twenties far beyond local capacity for absorption. As suburbs of the same city, these four are subject to the same regional influences. The difference in location, origin, growth, and economic level among them seems to warrant the assumption that likenesses, not found also in the city, may be attributed to the character of the residential suburb itself.

CHAPTER I

THE CLEVELAND METROPOLITAN REGION

Among the various elements that give prestige to the modern city is the size of area and of population included within the orbit of its influence. Cities strive to rank among the first five or ten in population and to gain recognition from the number of people who shop and work in the city by day and who frequent their recreational offerings by night. While the attribute of "largeness" in itself seems to have value in American culture, size has practical significance to the city. The larger the area which looks to the city as its center of life and the more populous, the stronger is the position of the city to gain recognition in national markets, to acquire additional transportation and shipping facilities, and to attract a greater variety of recreational and cultural activities. The area over which any one city can extend its influence depends, among other things, upon its location in relation to other metropolitan regions and upon the physical characteristics of the area. Where metropolitan regions are so located that their limits tend to approach each other or overlap, cities become competitors for dominance in the interstitial territory. Minor metropolitan areas, in particular, may become serious deterrents to expansion of a major metropolitan district in one direction or another In general, this is true of the eastern and north central portions of this country and, in particular, it is true of Cleveland. While Cleveland was extending its influence, so likewise were a number of smaller cities located in the northern half of Ohio. Before attempting to find out over what area Cleveland has welded city, suburb, and rural fringes into an interacting whole through administrative controls and functional activities against the competition of smaller cities, it seems essential to give some consideration to the question, "What is a region?" Through an understanding of the region and of the metropolitan region in particular, the position of the suburb gains perspective. It can be seen in its setting.

The term "region" is loosely used with a wide variety of connotations. Robert B. Hall made the statement a few years ago: "A cursory review of our regional literature shows there are as many concepts of the region as there are regional geographers."[1] The phenomenon of the region is not new but its recognition is comparatively recent. Geographic areas wherein interaction between physical, economic, and social factors have produced a unique pattern of living have existed under all civilizations, ancient and modern, but the realization of this entity and its use as a unit for study and for control are products of modern times.

The geographers were the first to classify physical phenomena on a regional basis, and they have continued to employ this approach increasingly. Today their studies on soil, climatic, topographic, and other types of regions have become essential background material for the social scientists' regional studies. The early physical geographers laid the ground work. The anthropogeographers added man to the picture. They interpreted the culture in any particular place as determined by physical environment. The human geographers, under the leadership of Vidal de la Blache, modified the geographic determinism of the anthropogeographers. He saw the interdependence of a geographic area and its culture as a relationship of "human adaptation of land and to land." But the geographers have not been the lone progenitors of the present day regional approach. The biologists have made contributions through their work in plant and animal ecology, as have also a few sociologists who have adapted to human communities the same methods of studying the life and behavior of organisms "with reference to the conditioning influence of physical environment and the struggle with other organisms for existence and position."[2] The work of the sociologists has been called human ecology. The fusion of the human geographer's regional concept and that of the human ecologist has given us the most elaborate and involved concept of the region. The region, thus conceived, is an area within which the interaction of physical, economic, and social elements produces a way of life which is recognized as peculiar to that area and which sets it off

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[1]Robert Burnett Hall, "The Geographic Region, A Resume," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXV (September, 1935), 122.

[2]Floyd N. House, The Range of Social Theory (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), p. 65.

culturally from other areas.

This concept of the region does not give a methodological approach for practical investigation of regions. It is too complex. In fact, the region is being attacked from as many angles as there are sciences interested in spatial distribution, and most sciences are so concerned in one way or another. It is possible that an integration of these various studies may in time give a comprehensive picture of the region. For the present, certain interrelated factors of the totality are being scrutinized by geographers, by biologists, by economists, by political scientists, by sociologists, and by administrators. In general, these factors are conceived in two ways. By some they are thought of as static. This makes the region a kind of fixed entity which allows for classification, description, and analysis. Robert B. Hall expresses this point of view when he says:

> To history the region has furnished the doctrine of "sectionalism"; to anthropology, "the cultural area"; to sociology, the "total-situation"; to economists, the "economic domain"; to biology, the "biotic area or region." In the field of politics the concept of the region is proving an increasingly important help to intelligent functioning of government, as well as helping the group to understand its position and its possibilities.[1]

On the other hand, students, particularly those in human geography and in sociology, see the region as a dynamic entity. The region is a living,changing thing. They recognize that with time comes modification of relationships. For example, they recognize that in the early history of any region the physical environment is more dominant in shaping the way people live together than later when increase in numbers and in technological knowledge enable the group to become more independent of its natural surroundings, and interacting cultural factors play the leading role.

A problem common to all approaches, whether it be that of biologist or human geographer, political scientist, sociologist, or governmental administrator, is that of locating the boundaries of the region. It is now generally conceded that the boundaries of regions are not lines but zones--transitional interstices from one region to another--but that it is better to set some kind of definite limits to the area under investigation, understanding that these are more or less arbitrarily determined lines. This is necessary both for scientific research and for administrative control.

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[1]Hall, op. cit., p. 122.

Another problem about which there is no unanimity of opinion is the size of the region. Small areas are not generally treated as regions. The question is how large can the region be. If homogeneity based on only one or two factors is sought, the region may be very extensive and may serve the objective of some scientists, particularly the physical geographers and administrators. On the other hand, such extensive areas are not apt to have a homogeneity of economic and cultural elements which to the mind of the sociologist constitutes the region.

Hence, the extent of any region seems to depend upon the objective of the investigator and upon the number and nature of criteria used. From the point of view of number and nature of criteria used, regions fall into three groups: the region delimited by one factor, the region delimited by political boundaries, and the region determined by many factors. There is a question whether an area whose homogeneity depends upon one common element is, properly speaking, a region. Studies of extent of a single element make a contribution to the knowledge in furnishing information about that factor. The limitations of such areas, either for understanding regionalism or for units of planning and control, are recognized. Regions which follow political boundaries are arbitrary and artificial. They are not natural in either a physical or social sense.

> Today, therefore, political units are apt to be the poorest possible expression of regionality. If this be true regarding nations, States and Provinces, it would suggest that it be also true with respect to minor administrative divisions. An examination of more than one hundred Federal administrative divisions shows this indeed to be the case. They have developed because of administrative necessity, and exist because of administrative convenience, rather than by reason of any qualities inherent in the areas themselves. In other words such territories are created by extrinsic rather than intrinsic factors. Strictly speaking, they are regions only by designation, and must, therefore, be regarded as pseudo-regions rather than as real regional units. There is no necessity for this being the case, however, because most systems of administrative divisions could probably be designed in accordance with sound geographic principles without diminishing their administrative convenience. Indeed it would seem that it would be augmented through the achievement of greater efficiency in grouping the items of functions to be administered.[1]

It is only when the extent of several or of many factors tend to coincide that there is any assurance that a region has been de-

[1] National Resources Committee, Regional Factors in National Planning (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 153-54.

limited. Since the cultural life of an area is, to a greater or lesser degree, derived from the physical environment, the cultural region needs analysis in terms of the physical factors of the natural region, or regions of which it may be a part, as well as of the economic and social.

The type of region which, until the present time, has been most widely studied has been the metropolitan region. The modern large city is so spectacular and compelling that it inevitably commands attention. Both the scientist and the administrator have been challenged by the complexity of the relationships resulting from rapid urban expansion. Social scientists have been intrigued into trying to find out the nature and meaning of the social processes, and the administrator and city planner to discover ways and means of controlling now and in the future this complex phenomenon.

The city has been found to extend its influence to varying distances beyond its political limits and to be, in turn, dependent in many respects on this outlying territory. It represents a most complex natural region although a small one. In the minds of some regionalists, the dominance of the city is so great that it determines the regionalism, i.e., the way of life of large areas, so great, in fact, that this country could be broken up into regions distinct from each other and yet inclusive of the entire geographical area, on the basis of metropolitan influence alone. To this point of view, the National Resources Committee takes exception. It states:

> Metropoli are geographically of two kinds--regional foci and supraregional creations. In other words, some large cities are created by the regions which contain them and for which they are in many respects centers of integration, but many other cities are not products of regional forces. These instead are created by larger factors in the total national economy. Most of the million-cities are probably of this latter type. To identify regions with such cities, therefore, is to create a regionalism of somewhat dubious validity. Many of the smaller cities do exhibit a certain areal control, but their application as regional criteria results in a great number of divisions, whose use could only result in planning upon a district rather than a real regional scale. Probably the confusion in thinking on the regionality of metropolitan spheres of influence arises out of a failure to realize that "a single city or metropolitan area is but a part of a larger environment." In short, it is an element in the total regional picture and not its fundamental outline.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 159.

Although it may be that the city is not the focal center of the larger homogeneous area, the region, nevertheless it does exert a dominating influence beyond its own boundaries, and the city and certain contiguous territory are so interrelated that they form an entity for investigation and for planning and control. This entity may be differentiated from the region per se by designating it as the "metropolitan region" and its extent may be measured by factors which indicate influence. By such factors the Cleveland Metropolitan Region may be analyzed.

Before presenting the extent to which various factors of economic and social import operate from the City of Cleveland, it seems appropriate to look at certain sub-areas which have already been delimited within the metropolitan region. These include the administrative units of the city and of the county and of two composite political units known as Greater Cleveland and as the Cleveland District. Greater Cleveland, consisting of Cleveland and of its four largest suburbs, Lakewood, East Cleveland, Cleveland Heights, and Shaker Heights, is a kind of inter-administrative area. The Cleveland District is the result of the attempt of the United States Bureau of the Census in 1930 to define "metropolitan regions" according to some of the newer concepts of that term. It only succeeded in setting up boundaries for a more or less artificial area known as the "district" on the bases of density and contiguity. At that time, it was found that there was no generally accepted methodological approach to setting boundaries for a region.[1] The Cleveland District, as delimited on the basis of density and contiguity, extends to the boundary of Cuyahoga County

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[1]In 1927 a committee appointed by the industrial bureaus of the Chamber of Commerce stated in its report:

"The real city today, because of the automobile, the telephone and other distance diminishing agencies, extends not only beyond existing city boundaries, but beyond the boundaries of any area which might be annexed. . . .

"A clear definition of such metropolitan regions, capable of application to all situations, is still to be worked out. There are, however, certain considerations which should be borne in mind when drawing the boundaries of a metropolitan region, i.e., it is the area within which conditions of manufacturing, trade, transportation, labor and living, in brief, the daily economic and social life, are predominantly influenced by the central city."
U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Metropolitan Districts (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 5.

With the approval of the Bureau of the Census, the United States Chamber of Commerce then tried to give realization to this

on the west, about fifteen miles south of the city, and beyond the county on the east, including Willoughby township and part of Kirtland in Lake County (see Figure 1). It does not include, however, the eastern tier of civic subdivisions within Cuyahoga County nor three lying in the southwest corner.[1]

Although the Census Bureau has not succeeded in defining a metropolitan region, its efforts have brought out clearly the reality of the region's existence and suggested the type of indices to be used in measuring its extent. To determine the extent of the area which is closely integrated economically and socially with Cleveland, a series of factors have been used which show both administrative and functional dominance. Functional dominance is the more important in defining the region, but to consider both gives a broader perspective. The extent of functional relationships has become the basis for planning in some metropolitan regions and may, in time, become the basis for political administration, at least in some aspects. There are trends in that direction, both local, as indicated earlier, and national, through the

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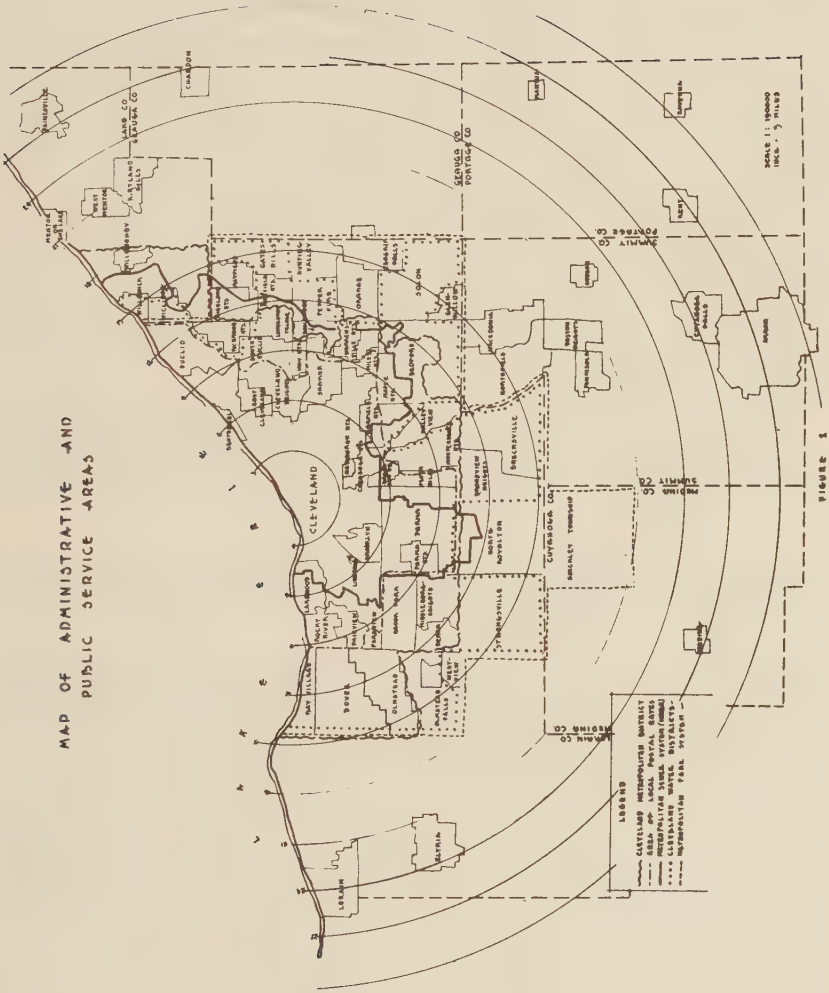
concept of the metropolitan region by asking local chambers in cities of over 50,000 to determine their area of dominance by certain control factors. These factors included telephone service, electric power service, retail store delivery, commuting service, water service, gas service, newspaper delivery service, mail delivery, switching limits, sewer service, residential membership in social and athletic clubs, operation of local real estate companies and soliciting and collecting routes. As the results were too inconsistent to make the regions comparable, the United States Census found it necessary to use just two more definitely determinable factors employed before, namely, density and contiguity.

[1]The 1910 Census had defined a metropolitan district as including the central city and those sections of adjacent territory lying within ten miles of the city boundary and having a density of 150 inhabitants per square mile, and considered as urban in character. According to this definition, the Cleveland district in 1910 consisted of Cleveland, Lakewood, East Cleveland, and Newburgh. The census made no change in definition between 1910 and 1920, but the population had grown so that in 1920 the Metropolitan District included all of Cuyahoga County except a fringe of civic areas at the outer edge of the county. In 1930 the Census, modifying its former procedure, included all adjacent and contiguous civil divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile but added those civil divisions of less density "that are directly contiguous to the central city or are entirely or nearly surrounded by minor civil subdivisions that have the desired density." Ibid., pp. 5-6. The ten-mile limit was eliminated.



MAP OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND PUBLIC SERVICE AREAS

FIGURE 1

work of the National Resources Committee.

The area over which the city of Cleveland has full administrative control is confined within the boundaries of the city itself, as has been indicated in the Introduction. The city, however, does extend some of its public services to communities willing and able to pay for them. The territory supplied by water from the Cleveland system follows political boundaries and includes practically all of Cuyahoga County and two villages in Lake County, Wickcliff and Willowick[1] (see Figure 1). The area served by the metropolitan sewage system lies well within the county except towards the east where it includes part of Willoughby township in Lake County[2] (see Figure 1). One small suburb, Bratenahl, buys fire protection from the city. All other fire protection rendered the suburbs is on the nature of neighborly assistance in an emergency.[3] Similarly the Cleveland police department cooperates closely with departments in nearby suburbs but has no administrative control over them.[4]

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[1]R. Hoffman, L. R. Hanson, and J. H. Heiron, "Communities Served with Water by Cleveland," Report on the Future Development of Cleveland Water Supply System, by a Special Engineering Committee (Cleveland, 1930). (Typewritten.)

[2]G. B. Gascoigne, "Treatment of Sewage from Easterly Sewerage District," Map of Cuyahoga County showing political subdivisions and metropolitan sewerage districts as of January, 1928 (Cleveland, February, 1931), p. 4.

[3]According to a letter (August 3, 1932) from James E. Granger, Chief, Division of Fire, the Cleveland Fire Department provides protection for one suburb only, the village of Bratenahl. "The Cleveland Fire Department gives complete fire protection to one municipality besides Cleveland, i.e., the village of Bratenahl. This municipality covers an area of slightly over one square mile and provides no fire protection of its own. A contract was made between the Village of Bratenahl and the City of Cleveland, renewable each year, to furnish fire protection at the rate of $350.00 for each alarm attended.

"The Cleveland Fire Department gives partial protection to all municipalities in the Greater Cleveland area, where such municipalities maintain paid fire departments of their own. There is no contract or agreement in this case, it is simply a neighborly proposition, where the larger city aids the smaller municipality in the case of an emergency. In cases where additional apparatus is required the chief of the municipality where the fire occurs calls the Chief of the Cleveland Fire Department for aid, which is always sent when such apparatus can be spared."

[4]A letter of July 30, 1932, from the Cleveland Chief of Police, George J. Matowitz, states: "The Cleveland Police Department does not render complete service to any municipality, except

Administrative agencies centered in Cleveland and having control over larger areas than has the municipal government of Cleveland, are the Metropolitan Park Board, the various county bureaus and boards, and the federal government. The Metropolitan Park Board has jurisdiction over an expanding system of public recreational grounds within Cuyahoga County and in Hinckley Township in Medina County[1] (see Figure 1). Since the county is the unit of administration for Ohio schools in civil areas not large enough to have their own systems, the control of the Cuyahoga Board of Education does not extend beyond county limits. Similarly library services are organized under state law on a county basis in conjunction with the Cleveland Public Library for communities not having libraries of their own.[2] Many other services are admin-

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the City of Cleveland. It endeavors at all times to cooperate with nearby municipalities rendering such services as feasible in individual cases. Because of the number of independent municipalities in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, and the proximity of a number to our own boundary lines, there is naturally more police business transacted between these municipalities and our department than between more distant cities. Specifically, the chief item of cooperation is the matter of radio broadcasting. The Cleveland Police Department maintains complete radio cruiser coverage for its own city and all other suburbs having radio cruisers."

[1]W. A. Stinchcomb, Director of the Metropolitan Park District, states in a letter of July 29, 1932: "The Metropolitan Park District originally consisted of all of Cuyahoga County except the Villages of Dover and Bay, which by subsequent annexation have become a part of the District. In addition, the township of Hinckley in Medina County is now a part of the District. Petitions are now on file before the Board for annexation of a tier of three townships along the westerly side of Lake County but no action has been taken on them." In January, 1940, these townships had not yet been annexed.

The Metropolitan Park Board does not have authority over all public land in Cuyahoga County used for parks. Of the 11,757.32 acres of public land used for parks in Cuyahoga County, the Metropolitan Park Board has control of 9,036.99 acres and local municipal boards of 2,709.79 acres. Other agencies have jurisdiction over about 11 acres. Bernard S. Edelman, Public Land Inventory, First Report on Public Land in Cuyahoga County of the Regional Association of Cleveland (Cleveland, October, 1939), p. 25.

[2]Communities in which Cuyahoga County Library has branches (B) and stations (S) are as follows:

Bedford - B	Fairview Village - B
Beechwood - S	Garfield Heights - 3S
Berea - B and 2S	Gates Mills - S
Brecksville - B and S	Independence - B
Brooklyn Township - B	Lyndhurst - S
Chagrin Falls - B and S	Maple Heights - B and 2S
Euclid - 2B and S	Mayfield Village - S

istered on a county-wide basis under state law from offices in Cleveland. These include not only functions of county government but also those state functions administered on the basis of the county as a unit, such as old age pensions. While the federal government has made Cleveland the center for regional administration of a number of services, almost all the areas covered by these government units include other metropolitan regions and hence can not be used as measures of the extent of the Cleveland Metropolitan Region. The area over which the Post Office Department, however, permits local rates is significant here. In the main, two-cent postage rates extend to suburbs contiguous to Cleveland proper.[1] (See Figure 1.)

Perhaps of more importance than governmental administrative areas in determining the extent of the true Cleveland Metropolitan Region are the territories of which Cleveland is the center for trade, finance, employment, semi-public services, cultural and recreational activities, and newspaper circulation. Newspaper circulation may, in one sense, be considered the index to the indices for determining the extent of a metropolitan region. The metropolitan newspaper, through its commercial advertising, market records, sport news, editorials, and announcements and reviews of all kinds of activities going on in the city, stimulates readers to participate in one or another activity and in this way helps to bring about a common life within the area where it is read by large numbers of persons. Within this area the trade, financial, commutation, semi-public service, and cultural factors may be expected to operate.

Mayfield Heights - 2S	North Royalton Village - 2S
North Olmsted - B and S	Rocky River - B and S
North Randall - S	Solon - S
Olmsted Falls - S	Shaker Heights - 10B and 1S
Orange Village - S	South Euclid - B and 2S
Parma - 6S	Strongsville - B
Parma Heights - S	Warrensville - B

Data from office of County Library in the Cleveland Public Library, November 24, 1936. Lakewood, East Cleveland, Cleveland Heights, and Shaker Heights (June, 1938) have their own systems.

[1]Suburbs having two-cent postage in 1934 are: Bratenahl, Brooklyn Village, Brooklyn Heights Village, Cleveland Heights, Cuyahoga Heights Village, East Cleveland, Euclid, Fairview Village, Garfield Heights (north of Granger Road and west of East 120th Street), Lakewood, Linndale Village, Newburgh Heights Village, Parma, Parma Heights, Rocky River, Seven Hills Village, Shaker Heights (to Warrensville Center Road and east of Warrensville Center Road to Belvoir Boulevard from Fairmont to Shaker Boulevard).

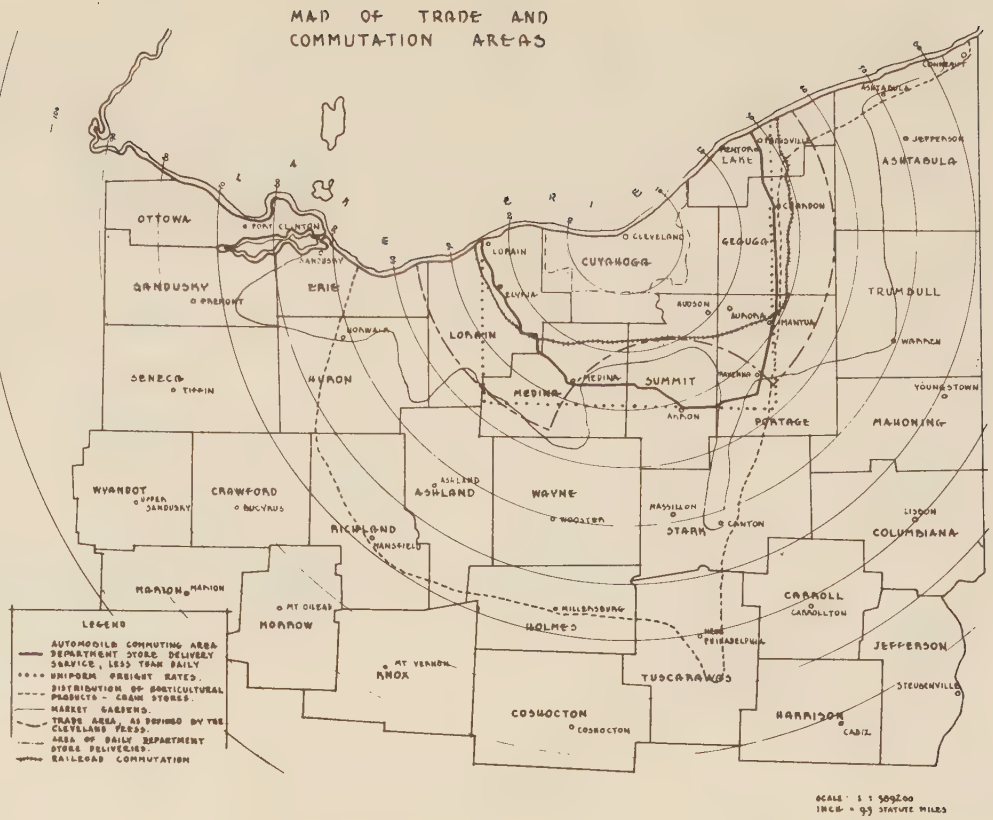

MAP OF TRADE AND COMMUTATION AREAS
L A K E E R I E
OTTOWA
PORT CLINTON
SANDUSKY
ERIE
HURON
SENECA
TIFFIN
CRAWFORD
BUCYRUS
RICHLAND
MANSFIELD
ASHLAND
WAYNE
WOOSTER
MARION
MORROW
MT GILEAD
KNOX
MT VERNON
HOLMES
MILLERSBURG
COSHOCTON
TUSCARAWAS
NEW PHILADELPHIA
CARROLL
CARROLLTON
HARRISON
CADIZ
JEFFERSON
STEUBENVILLE
COLUMBIANA
LISBON
MAHONING
YOUNGSTOWN
TRUMBULL
WARREN
PORTAGE
SUMMIT
AKRON
MEDINA
WAYNE
STARK
CANTON
MASSILLON
LORAIN
ELYRIA
CUYAHOGA
CLEVELAND
GEAUGA
LAKE
ASHTABULA
JEFFERSON
LEGEND
AUTOMOBILE COMMUTING AREA
DEPARTMENT STORE DELIVERY SERVICE, LESS THAN DAILY
UNIFORM FREIGHT RATES.
DISTRIBUTION OF HORTICULTURAL PRODUCTS - CHAIN STORES.
MARKET GARDENS.
TRADE AREA, AS DEFINED BY THE CLEVELAND PRESS.
AREA OF DAILY DEPARTMENT STORE DELIVERIES.
RAILROAD COMMUTATION
SCALE: 1 : 509200
INCH = 8.03 STATUTE MILES

FIGURE 2

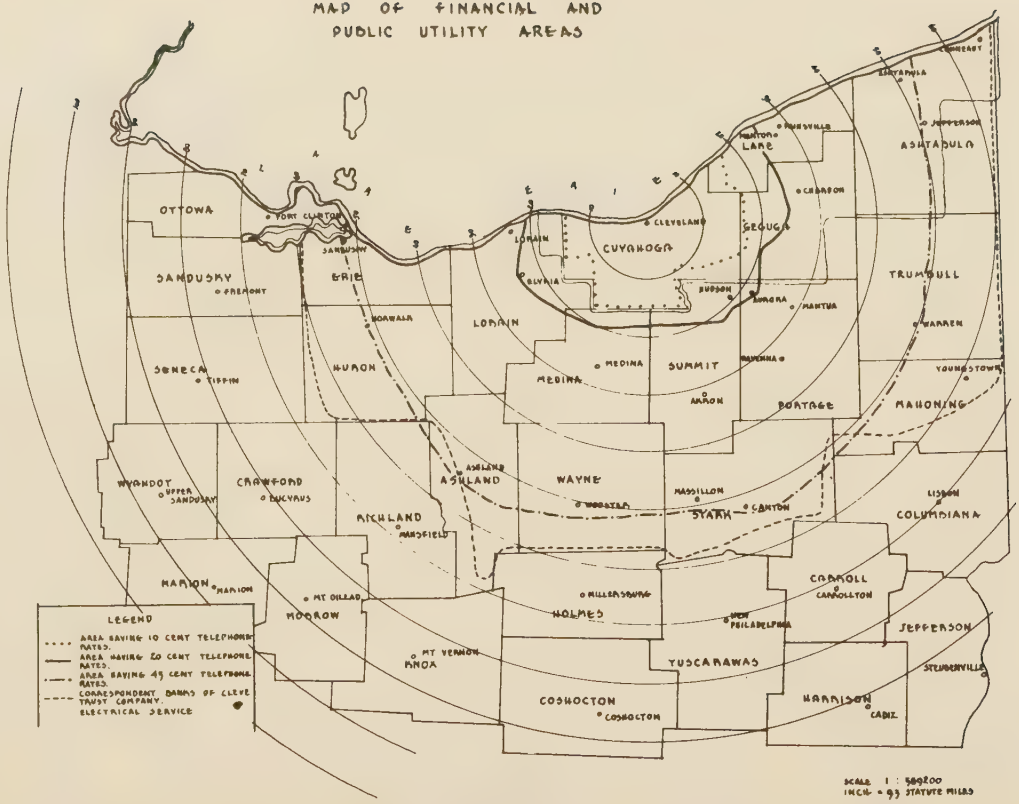

MAP OF FINANCIAL AND
PUBLIC UTILITY AREAS
OTTOWA
PORT CLINTON
SANDUSKY
FREMONT
ERIE
SANDUSKY
SENECA
TIFFIN
HURON
HOARWALA
LORAIN
LORAIN
ELYRIA
CUYAHOGA
CLEVELAND
MEDINA
MEDINA
SUMMIT
AKRON
PORTAGE
RAVENNA
GEAUGA
PAINESVILLE
PAINTON LAKE
CHARDON
ASHTABULA
JEFFERSON
TRUMBULL
WARREN
YOUNGSTOWN
MAHONING
WYANDOT
UPPER SANDUSKY
CRAWFORD
BUCYRUS
RICHLAND
MANSFIELD
ASHLAND
ASHLAND
WAYNE
WOOSTER
MASSILLON
STARK
CANTON
LISBON
COLUMBIANA
MARION
MARION
MORROW
MT GILEAD
MT VERNON
KNOX
HOLMES
MILLERSBURG
CARROLL
CARROLLTON
JEFFERSON
STEUBENVILLE
TUSCARAWAS
NEW PHILADELPHIA
COSHOCTON
COSHOCTON
HARRISON
CADIZ
LEGEND
AREA SAVING 10 CENT TELEPHONE RATES.
AREA HAVING 20 CENT TELEPHONE RATES.
AREA SAVING 45 CENT TELEPHONE RATES.
CORRESPONDENT BANKS OF CLEVE TRUST COMPANY.
ELECTRICAL SERVICE
SCALE 1 : 500200
INCH = 93 STATUTE MILES

FIGURE 3

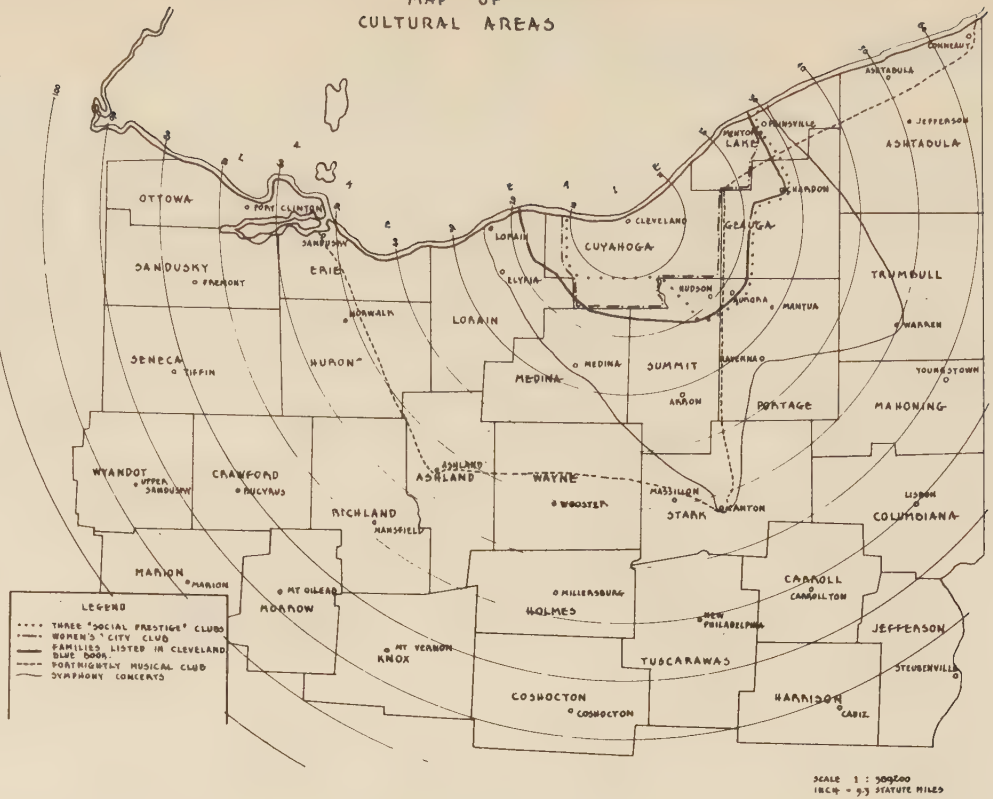
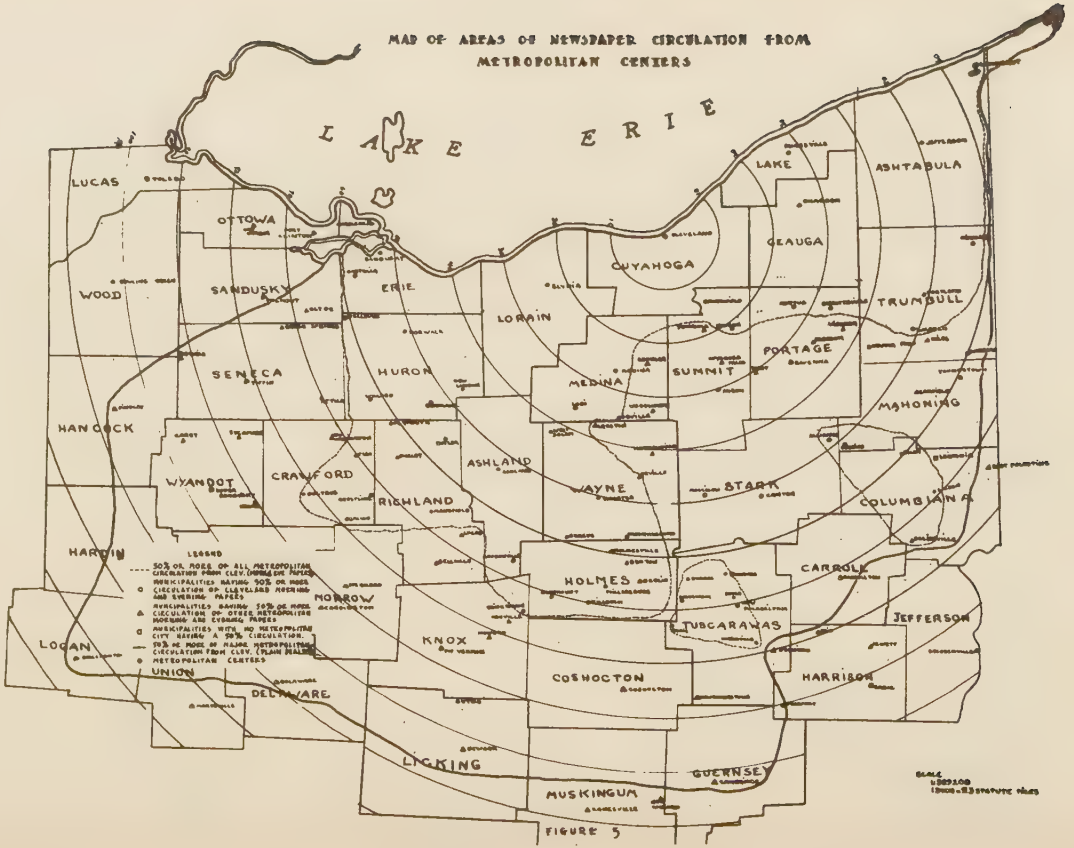

MAP OF
CULTURAL AREAS
OTTOWA
PORT CLINTON
SANDUSKY
FREMONT
ERIE
SANDUSKY
NORWALK
SENECA
TIFFIN
HURON
LORAIN
LORAIN
ELYRIA
CLEVELAND
CUYAHOGA
GEAUGA
PAINESVILLE
PAINESVILLE
LAKE
PERRY
MADISON
ASHTABULA
ASHTABULA
JEFFERSON
TRUMBULL
WARREN
HUDSON
AURORA
MANTUA
MEDINA
MEDINA
SUMMIT
AKRON
PORTAGE
RAVENNA
YOUNGSTOWN
MAHONING
WYANDOT
UPPER SANDUSKY
CRAWFORD
BUCYRUS
ASHLAND
ASHLAND
WAYNE
WOOSTER
RICHLAND
MANSFIELD
MASSILLON
CANTON
STARK
LISBON
COLUMBIANA
MARION
MARION
MT GILEAD
MORROW
MILLERSBURG
HOLMES
CARROLL
CARROLLTON
NEW PHILADELPHIA
JEFFERSON
STEUBENVILLE
MT VERNON
KNOX
TUSCARAWAS
COSHOCTON
COSHOCTON
HARRISON
CADIZ
LEGEND
THREE "SOCIAL PRESTIGE" CLUBS
WOMEN'S CITY CLUB
FAMILIES LISTED IN CLEVELAND BLUE BOOK.
FORTNIGHTLY MUSICAL CLUB
SYMPHONY CONCERTS
SCALE 1 : 309,200
1INCH = 4.9 STATUTE MILES

FIGURE 4.


MAP OF AREAS OF NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION FROM METROPOLITAN CENTERS
LAKE ERIE
LUCAS
OTTOWA
SANDUSKY
ERIE
LORAIN
CUYAHOGA
LAKE
ASHTABULA
GEAUGA
TRUMBULL
PORTAGE
SUMMIT
MEDINA
MAHONING
WOOD
SENECA
HURON
HANCOCK
WYANDOT
CRAWFORD
ASHLAND
WAYNE
STARK
COLUMBIANA
RICHLAND
HARDIN
MORROW
HOLMES
CARROLL
TUSCARAWAS
JEFFERSON
KNOX
LOGAN
UNION
DELAWARE
COSHOCTON
HARRISON
LICKING
GUERNSEY
MUSKINGUM
LEGEND
50% OR MORE OF ALL METROPOLITAN CIRCULATION FROM CLEV. PRESS PAPERS
MUNICIPALITIES HAVING 50% OR MORE CIRCULATION OF CLEVELAND MORNING AND EVENING PAPERS
MUNICIPALITIES HAVING 50% OR MORE CIRCULATION OF OTHER METROPOLITAN MORNING AND EVENING PAPERS
MUNICIPALITIES WITH NO METROPOLITAN CITY HAVING A 50% CIRCULATION.
50% OR MORE OF MAJOR METROPOLITAN CIRCULATION FROM CLEV. PLAIN DEALER
METROPOLITAN CENTERS
FIGURE 5

MAP OF AREAS OF NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION FROM CLEVELAND AND SATELLITE CITIES

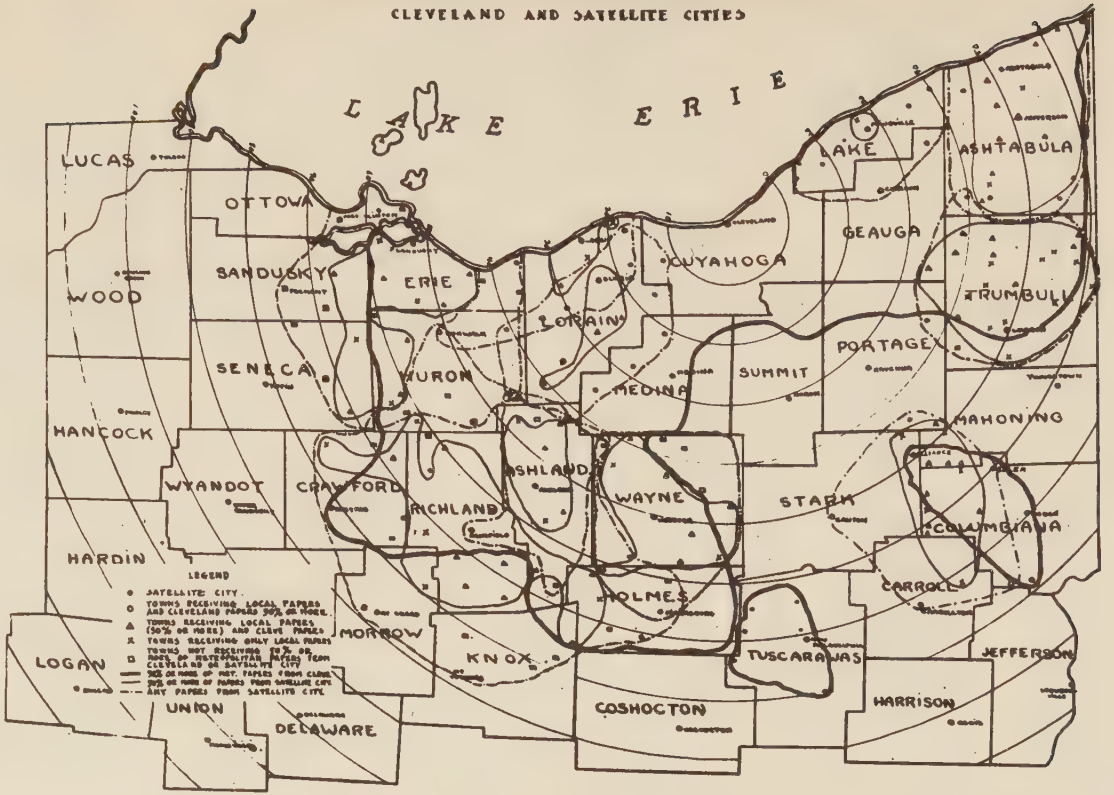


FIGURE 6

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE IN FOUR SUBURBS: NUMBER, AGE AND SEX, NATIONALITY AND RACE

The rise of Cleveland's suburbs began about a half century ago. By 1890 Cleveland had grown to a city with a population of 261,353 while in the county outside the city there lived 48,617 people (65.7 per cent of the county population) on farms and in rural villages.[1] About this time people began to move from Cleveland into the present East Cleveland and Lakewood. Street railways to the edge of the city made it possible to live in these adjacent villages and work in the city. The movement was slow, however, until 1910. By that time transportation facilities had been greatly extended and steadily increasing numbers of families began taking up residence in outlying communities, changing them from independent villages into suburbs of Cleveland. By 1930, 25 per cent of the population of the county lived outside of Cleveland, as compared with 12 per cent in 1910.[2] Prior to 1910, Cleveland had increased in population at a rate for each decade considerably higher than that for the county outside.[3] This may be attributed

[1] H. W. Green, Population by Census Tracts, Cleveland, Ohio: 1930 (Cleveland: Plain Dealer Publishing Company, 1931), p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 1.

[3] The population of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County outside of Cleveland for 1850 to 1930 was as follows:

Year	Cleveland		County Outside of Cleveland	
	Population	Per Cent Increase	Population	Per Cent Increase
1930	900,429	13.0	301,026	105.3
1920	796,841	42.1	146,654	91.1
1910	560,663	46.9	76,762	33.8
1900	381,768	46.2	57,352	18.0
1890	261,353	63.2	48,617	32.1
1880	160,416	72.5	36,797	- 6.1
1870	92,829	113.8	39,181	13.2
1860	43,417	154.9	34,616	11.4
1850	17,034	180.6	31,065	52.0

Source: Ibid., p. 1.

in part first, to the greater movement of people into the city than out of it, and, second, to the annexation of adjacent sections of land, some of which have become the fastest growing parts of Cleveland. Between 1836, when Cleveland with a population of about 6,000[1] became a city, and 1910, it enlarged its area by annexations from 1.75 square miles to 42.73 square miles; between 1910 and 1930 it added a like amount of land (28.30 square miles).[2] In spite of annexations, after 1910 Cleveland did not increase so rapidly in population as did the suburban district.[3] Within the suburban district, rate of growth has varied widely from place to place. This will become evident from the population analysis of the four suburbs which follows.

. . . . . .

Comparison of Suburbs

These four suburbs differ markedly in size and in rate of growth during the decade 1920-1930, but their rate of growth has not corresponded with their size. Shaker Heights, ranking third in population, has grown most rapidly, more than twice as rapidly as Parma, which ranks fourth in population. East Cleveland, second in population, has increased the least. Lakewood and East Cleveland increased at a greatly reduced rate over the previous decade, 1910-1920, while the other two suburbs increased at very much higher rates.[4] All have much higher rates of increase than

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[1]James H. Kennedy, A History of the City of Cleveland: Its Settlement, Rise and Progress: 1796-1896 (Cleveland: Imperial Press, 1896), p. 496.

[2]Industrial Development Department, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, A Decade in the History of Metropolitan Cleveland (Cleveland, April 15, 1929), p. 3. Statements by C. H. Hutchinson, Cuyahoga County Engineer's Office, in a personal interview.

[3]The Sixteenth Census of the United States shows a decrease of 2.4 per cent for the decade 1930-40. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Preliminary Announcements of Population of Specified Cities of 25,000 or More in 1940, No. 16 (Washington, September 3, 1940).

[4]The 1940 census figures show that both Lakewood and East Cleveland, as well as Cleveland, have lost population since 1930, but their loss is proportionally not so great as Cleveland's. Shaker Heights and Parma are gaining but at markedly reduced rates.

Cleveland.

These suburbs also present great variation in density of population. The two older suburbs are more densely populated on the whole than Cleveland, although no one section in either is so thickly settled as the most congested areas of Cleveland. No other municipality in the entire Cleveland region has as many people per square mile as either East Cleveland or Lakewood. They rank first and second respectively. Shaker Heights ranks fourth in density among the eleven municipalities in the Cleveland suburban area, and Parma ranks eleventh. Their recent development is one factor in their low density, and each has a high percentage of vacant land.

All four suburbs have a much higher percentage of native whites in their population composition than has the central city, and a much lower percentage of foreign-born and of Negroes. Shaker Heights, Lakewood, and East Cleveland do not vary appreciably in the percentage of native whites. Shaker Heights has the highest percentage of native whites of native parentage and the least of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. It also has the lowest percentage of foreign-born but the highest percentage of Negroes. Lakewood and East Cleveland have approximately the same percentage of native white of native parentage (54 per cent) but Lakewood has a slightly higher percentage of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. East Cleveland has proportionally more Negroes than Lakewood but many less than Shaker Heights. The percentage of foreign-born in East Cleveland is greater than in Lakewood. Parma stands out from the other three suburbs in having considerably fewer native whites of native parentage in its population, appreciably more native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, and more of foreign-born, and no Negroes.

Ranking these four according to the percentage of native white of native parentage, Shaker Heights comes first with the highest percentage, followed by Lakewood, then East Cleveland, and finally Parma. Ranking them according to percentage of foreign-born, the reverse order prevails.

In analyzing the foreign-born in these four suburbs according to country of birth, two conditions stand out: first, the proportional differences of nationality distribution in Cleveland and the four suburbs; and second, the changes in size of the

nationality groups from 1920 to 1930. In Shaker Heights, Lakewood, and East Cleveland there is a very uneven distribution among the nationalities represented, one or two predominating in size over all the others. In Cleveland there is no such outstanding ethnic group. Parma approaches Cleveland in this respect. The dominant foreign-born groups in the first three suburbs mentioned come from the English-speaking countries of the British Empire. Ranking second, with much lower percentages in East Cleveland and in Shaker Heights, come the Germans. In Lakewood the Czechs rank a much closer second and the Germans third. In Parma the Germans rank first and the Czechs a close second. If those nationalities whose cultural background approaches our own most closely, namely, the English and German-speaking and Scandinavian groups, are combined the totals show that 28.1 per cent of the foreign-born in Cleveland belong to these three groups, 49.1 per cent in Parma, 54.3 per cent in Lakewood, 55.2 per cent in Shaker Heights, and 67.8 per cent in East Cleveland. These figures indicate that those nationalities which are commonly considered the more desirable are represented by much higher proportions in the suburbs than in the central city.

From 1920 to 1930 there came about some significant changes both in the total number of foreign-born and in the numbers in specific ethnic groups. In Cleveland the number of foreign-born actually decreased 9.1 per cent during the decade, while in Lakewood, East Cleveland, and Shaker Heights the number increased.[1] This situation is due to the movement of the foreign-born from Cleveland to the suburbs and to the reduction in the number of newcomers resulting from restrictive immigration laws. In East Cleveland the rate of increase in the foreign-born was greater than the rate for the population as a whole. As a result the percentage of foreign-born in the total population has increased 1.3 points in the decade 1920-1930. In Lakewood and Shaker Heights as well as in Cleveland the percentage has decreased.

These changes in total number have been brought about by marked increases of certain ethnic groups and by decreases in others. In Lakewood the significant increases have been among the

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[1] Figures are not available for foreign-born in Parma for 1920, but probably the same condition prevailed.

Czechs and the English and German-speaking nationalities, and the decreases among the Poles, Hungarians, and Yugoslavs. In East Cleveland the Russians, Czechs, and Italians have moved in in sizable numbers, while the English and German-speaking have not held their place. Shaker Heights presents a situation similar to that of East Cleveland--a marked increase in Russians, Italians, and Poles, and an even more marked decrease in the English-speaking groups. The German-speaking nationalities increased a little in Shaker Heights. The difference in the type of foreign-born coming into these suburbs seems to reflect the movements of the various ethnic and racial groups in the city. The Slavic and Latin peoples are moving into the eastern suburbs.[1] The large settlement of Czechs in the southeastern section of Lakewood is probably attracting other Czechs and accounts for their increase in that suburb. This, likewise, reflects the urban tendency for nationals of the same country to live in the same area in the city. A trend towards a change in the composition of the foreign-born in these three suburbs is apparent. The English and German-speaking groups are gradually yielding to the Slavic and Latin.

A wide variation in the sex ratio marks the distribution of males and females in the different suburbs and Cleveland. The three suburbs of Lakewood, East Cleveland, and Shaker Heights have many more females than males in their population. The ratio in Cleveland shows a fairly even distribution (103) with more males than females, but Parma has decidedly more males than females, with a sex ratio of 110. In contrast Shaker Heights has only 82 males to 100 females.

In age distribution Lakewood, East Cleveland, and Shaker Heights have a smaller percentage of people under 21 years of age than Cleveland, but Parma has a larger percentage. East Cleveland stands out in the relatively low percentage of children under 21 years of age. In the age group 65 years and over, Lakewood and East Cleveland have a larger percentage of their population than

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[1] As the Negroes have pushed farther and farther east and southeast from the center, they have replaced the Italians and Russians. These nationality groups in turn have moved in the same directions to the edge of the city, replacing native-whites, and have "spilled over" into the adjacent suburbs, as the native whites had done earlier. Succession in the eastern suburbs is more apparent in East Cleveland than in Shaker Heights where building regulations limit its normal operation.

Cleveland; Shaker Heights and Parma have smaller percentages. The median ages further emphasize the point that in all suburbs but Parma the population is older than in Cleveland. In Parma the population is younger. A comparison of the age pyramids shows that Cleveland approaches most closely a stable population distribution. Lakewood and East Cleveland vary more from the regulation form but have a certain degree of symmetry, tending to broaden from the base to the age of 35 years in Lakewood and 25 years in East Cleveland, and then to taper off to the top. The younger suburbs--Parma and Shaker Heights--are very irregular. The one characteristic common to all is the receded base representing a smaller percentage of children under 5 years of age than in the next higher age group (5-10 years). City and suburb are alike in having a decreasing birthrate. Another statistical fact worth noting is the percentage of the total number of women 15 to 45 years of age, the child-bearing age. Three suburbs have proportionally more of their women in this age range than has Cleveland, although Lakewood's percentage is not significantly larger. Parma, on the other hand, has a smaller percentage than Cleveland.

It is evident from the foregoing presentation of demographic data that few unqualified conclusions as to specific differences between the central city and the four suburbs can be drawn. Certain tendencies stand out and usually there are explanations for deviations from the general trend in case of one or another suburb. The common impression that the suburb is always less densely populated than the city is not borne out by the study of these four suburbs. The older larger suburbs of East Cleveland and Lakewood are more densely settled than the city as a whole, although no section of either is as crowded as certain sections of the city. In this connection it must be taken into consideration that large sections of Cleveland are occupied by industrial establishments, parks and railroads, while Lakewood is almost completely given over to residences. To a high degree this is true also of East Cleveland. If in these two suburbs the character of housing changes from single-family dwellings to apartments, the density will increase. The young suburbs, Shaker Heights and Parma, fit into the pattern of lower density for the suburb than for the city. Until 1930 all four suburbs had grown at higher rates than had the city--the older and larger suburbs

much more slowly than the younger and smaller. The movement of population into the suburbs helps to account for the difference in rates between city and suburb and the factors in rate of growth--age and size--for the difference among the suburbs. The loss of population in Cleveland and the two large suburbs and the extreme decrease in rate of growth of the two smaller ones, as shown in the early figures of the 1940 census, seem to reflect the general trend of population increase at a decreasing rate due to lowered birthrate, but also seem to indicate a movement of population from the more densely populated areas of the region to the less densely populated, whether that area be city or suburb.

All four suburbs show higher percentages of native white, lesser percentages of foreign-born and Negroes, than the city. Changes in the composition of the foreign-born reflect movements of ethnic groups originating in the city. The processes of succession and of concentration, operative in the city, extend into the suburbs. Further, the total numbers in the suburbs are heavily weighted by one or two groups, whereas in the city there are many nationality groups; that is, selection among the foreign-born is making for increasing homogeneity of population in the suburb.

As to sex distribution, there seems to be a tendency for the suburbs to have more females than males, a condition the reverse of that in the city. Parma, however, does not meet this condition but is like Cleveland in having more males than females. Two factors influence the situation in Parma, namely, the higher percentages of foreign-born, where males are apt to outnumber females, and the semi-rural character of the population where a like sex ratio prevails.

In age distribution the suburbs all show more variation from age group to age group than does the city, and the younger suburbs greater variation than the older. The size of the population, the rate of growth, and the age of the suburb influence age distribution. Since all the suburbs are so much smaller than Cleveland, they do not allow for the diversity in groups which tends to smooth out the variations among them. This also helps to explain less variation in the larger suburbs of Lakewood and East Cleveland. It may be also that the variations in age distribution also tend to disappear with the slower rate of growth

that comes as the suburb grows older. In that case it is to be expected that the smaller, rapidly growing, younger suburbs would present greater irregularities in age distribution.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE OF FOUR SUBURBS: THEIR OCCUPATIONS

The primary importance of the kind of work that people do in shaping the manner of individual and collective living is axiomatic. Where a single occupational group is predominant in a community, there its standards of living, ethical codes, and social values give direction to the customs, the economic and social institutions. The residential suburb presents such community since occupational selection operates to a greater or lesser extent in residential suburbs. Further, as occupational groups form a hierarchy and, within broad limits, social strata parallel occupational strata, the social prestige of the residential suburb is closely associated with the standing of the predominant occupational group. Also, within the suburb itself social stratification may be roughly gauged by the occupational pattern.

Since the chief interest of the sociologist in suburban occupational structure lies in what it reveals as to social structure and in what it contributes to an understanding of the manner of living, a classification of occupations on a social-economic basis is better adapted to his purposes than the one on the basis of industry. So far, no very satisfactory social-economic classification has yet been devised. The reason is obvious. While occupation is an important element in determining social status in this country, it is not the only one. Income, education, race, family, or social usefulness, alone or in combination, may enter as factors of greater or lesser weight, depending on the locality. Accordingly, the social-economic occupational classes approximate social classes but are not necessarily identical with them. Most social-economic classifications so far devised are modifications of a simple hierarchy of six levels--top to bottom--managerial, professional, white collar, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled. The three lower levels correspond more closely to the lower social strata than do the higher levels. Social stratification cuts across the managerial, professional, and white-collar workers to a much

greater degree than across the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers.

Of much less importance in determining the manner of living than the occupation itself, yet wielding some influence, are the elements of the place of work and the time required to get there. That suburbanites commute to work in large numbers is an accepted fact. In urban areas where many large industrial plants are located out from the central city, commuting may mean going to another suburb for the many workers in the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled groups. For the professional and white-collar groups it means by and large going to the city. Since most of the large industries in the Cleveland suburban district are located in Cleveland itself, the great majority of commuters in all types of occupations must necessarily go to some part of Cleveland. This separation of work place and home by greater or lesser distances lengthens the working day by the time it requires to get to and from work, thus reducing leisure time and increasing fatigue.

Time and fatigue vary with the vehicles of transportation. In many cities large numbers of commuters come and go from work by train, as in New York, Boston, and Chicago. By this method greater distances can be covered in lesser time and probably with a minimum of fatigue. For the Cleveland suburban district the use of the railroad as a method of transit is practically negligible. Between Cleveland and Shaker Heights an electric train service commonly known as the Rapid Transit permits ready access to the center of the city from Shaker Heights. All other suburbs depend essentially upon street cars, private automobiles and, to a limited but increasing extent, upon bus service. Public transportation facilities in Greater Cleveland are very inadequate and slow. For that reason the time taken by those using street cars and buses is longer than might normally be expected from the distance traversed,and fatigue is increased by the crowding in cars and buses at the rush hours.

An analysis of the occupational structure of all four suburbs on the basis of a social-economic classification is not possible since the Fifteenth Census gives data for Lakewood and East Cleveland only. Data are given for Shaker Heights about the industries in which its people are employed but none on the employment of homemakers; no census data are available for Parma on any aspect of occupations. The comparison of the suburbs on the basis

of occupational structure is, therefore, limited to Lakewood and East Cleveland and to those inferences that may be drawn about Shaker Heights from its industrial structure. In regard to the time taken to get to work and methods of transportation, H. W. Green furnished statistics in one of his reports[1] but not in regard to location of work place or distance between home and place of employment. Data from a random sample[2] of a few hundred suburban residents add these aspects of work life. This sample, however, is biased on the side of the upper levels of the occupational pyramid.

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Comparison and Interpretation

The material presented in this chapter on the occupational structure of the suburbs shows some distinct differences among them, and between the suburbs and the city. The first of these is the difference in sex distribution of wage earners between suburb and city. There is a tendency for a larger percentage of suburban women to work for a wage than of city women, and the larger the suburb the smaller is the percentage of women wage earners. Lakewood, with its 30,034 employed in 1930, has the smallest proportion of the three suburbs,[3] a proportion 1.5 points larger than that of Cleveland, while Shaker Heights, with only 7,215 gainfully employed, has the largest proportion--6.5 points higher than that of Cleveland. East Cleveland stands between, having 18,404 wage earners and a proportion of women 5 points higher than Cleveland's. The total number of wage earners in itself seems to offer no satisfactory explanation. The major cause apparently lies in the sex distribution in the suburb, where women 15 years of age and over outnumber men. In Cleveland men outnumber women.[4] The sex ratios follow the same order as the

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[1]H. W. Green, Standards of Living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District, 1935, Special 1935 Report of the Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland (Cleveland, 1935).

[2]Questionnaires gathered in 1933 by the writer, from Lakewood, East Cleveland, Shaker Heights, and Parma.

[3]No data for Parma.

[4]Sex ratios of men 15 years of age and over to women 15

percentages of women wage earners, Lakewood having the least disparity in the number of the sexes, Shaker Heights having the greatest, and East Cleveland falling between. Another factor that may enter in is the percentage of single women 15 years of age and over. That percentage is likewise smallest for Lakewood and highest for Shaker Heights, with East Cleveland occupying a middle position.[1] Another factor suggesting itself as influencing this situation is the number of homemakers who are working for a wage. This factor is of a character different from the other two, since it involves economic status and size of family. In this case the distribution does not follow the pattern. East Cleveland has a higher percentage of homemakers working than either Lakewood or Cleveland, and Cleveland has proportionally more than Lakewood.[2] Hence it would seem that the proportion of homemakers working is not so direct a causative factor in determining the proportion of all women working as the population factors of distribution of the sexes and number of single women 15 years old and over. Wherever women 15 years of age and over outnumber men in a community, and where single women of that age likewise are more numerous than men, we can expect a higher proportion of women workers. Inasmuch as the suburb tends to foster these conditions, it would be expected that the suburb would have higher proportions of women workers than the city. Since Parma does not follow this pattern of population distribution, having more men than women, it would probably show a proportion of women workers more nearly approximating that of Cleveland, but Parma is only semi-suburbanized. The situation will probably change there when Parma reaches suburban maturity.

There is some evidence to support the opinion that the

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years of age and over are:

Cleveland	104
Lakewood	87
East Cleveland	85
Shaker Heights	76

[1]The sex ratio of single men to single women is:

Cleveland	133
Lakewood	84
East Cleveland	81
Shaker Heights	51

[2]There are no data on this point for either Shaker Heights or Parma.

proportion of homemakers who work for a wage varies with the median of economic level of the suburb and with the size of family. East Cleveland, with the highest proportion of homemakers working, is of lower economic level than Lakewood, as will be brought out in the succeeding chapter, and has proportionally more one- and two-person families. Lakewood, with the lowest proportion of homemakers, is of much higher economic level than Cleveland and has slightly more one- and two-person families (0.3 points). While this evidence is not very convincing, it does suggest that the economic status of a community and the number of families without children influence the number of homemakers who work for a wage. The higher the economic status of a community, the lesser the tendency for homemakers to become wage earners; the larger the number of childless families, the greater the tendency. If this is true, we would expect a very small percentage of homemakers in Shaker Heights to be wage earners and a rather high percentage in Parma.[1]

The second significant difference between suburb and city is in the distribution of workers at various levels. If the occupational pyramid is considered as made up of three levels of occupations--upper level, consisting of the major managerial positions and professions, middle level of other white collar and minor managerial occupations, and lower level of skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled occupations and servants--the following distinctions stand out between city and suburb and between the two suburbs of Lakewood and East Cleveland:

For all workers:

1. The city has less than half as many workers proportionally in the upper level occupations as have the two suburbs. It has less than two-thirds as many in the middle level; and it has one and four-fifths to twice as many in the lower level. In other words, Cleveland has roughly about a third of its workers in the middle and upper level occupations and about two-thirds in the lower; East Cleveland shows almost the exact reverse, and Lakewood presents more nearly three-tenths in the lower level and seven-tenths in the middle and upper levels. This occupational distribution of workers at three levels brings out the tendency of the suburb to occupational selection. Lakewood and East Cleveland attract the workers in the upper and middle occupational levels and Lakewood has a greater drawing power

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[1] A large number of married women in Parma work as cleaners in downtown office buildings at night. Statement by Mrs. W. Henninger in a personal interview.

at these levels than East Cleveland. This difference in occupational distribution accounts for the difference in economic level of the two suburbs and the difference between the suburbs and the city.

For male and female workers:

1. In the two suburbs, the proportion of men in the upper level occupations is greater than the proportion of women. The reverse is found in Cleveland. In the major managerial positions there are found very small proportions of women both in city and suburb, but for men the percentages in Lakewood and East Cleveland are high, not only very much higher than for women but also for men in Cleveland. The percentages stand roughly in the following relation to one another: for Cleveland men to East Cleveland as 1 to 2.5, to Lakewood men as 1 to 3; for Cleveland women to East Cleveland and to Lakewood women as 2 to 3; for men to women, Cleveland 4 to 1, East Cleveland 6 to 1, Lakewood 7 to 1. The professions, the other group making up the upper level of occupations, show that the proportions for women are larger than for men in both city and suburb; that disparity between the sex percentages is much greater for the city than for the suburbs; and that the proportion of men in Lakewood is only 0.7 point higher than that for East Cleveland, while the proportion for women is 0.6 point lower.

2. At the middle occupational level in Cleveland and in each suburb the proportion of women is much greater than that for men. Out of every ten women working in Cleveland, approximately two are in occupations at the middle level; out of every ten men working, one is in an occupation at this level. In Lakewood the corresponding ratio is 1.4 to 1, and in East Cleveland 1.7 to 1. This predominance of women is due to the large numbers working in offices and stores. Again, the percentages for both men and women are greater in the two suburbs than in the city. Half or more than half of the suburban wage earning women are employed in occupations of middle level, while two-fifths of Cleveland's workers occupy positions so rated. In the suburbs the proportions for men hover around a third; in Cleveland the proportion is one-fifth. At this level there is not so wide a disparity between the percentages for Cleveland men and women as in the upper level of occupations. The distributions approach each other more closely.[1]

3. At the lower level, in the three groups of occupations,

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[1]Roughly these proportional relationships stand as follows:

Upper Level Occupations	Lower Level Occupations
Cleveland men to Lakewood men as 1 to 3	as 1 to 1.8
Cleveland men to East Cleveland men as 1 to 2.5	as 1 to 1.7
Cleveland women to Lakewood women as 1 to 1.7	as 1 to 1.3
Cleveland women to East Cleveland women as 1 to 1.7	as 1 to 1.4

skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled, men are more numerous than women in city and suburb alike, with one exception--the percentage of semi-skilled men in Lakewood. The order is reversed in the case of servants; more women per hundred employed are found than men. The disparity in the proportional distribution as between men and women is least among the semi-skilled. This is readily understandable, since the sex division of labor does not enter into the job of machine operators as it does among the skilled trades, unskilled labor, or domestic service. In these lower level occupations the percentages for city men and city women are appreciably higher than the corresponding percentages for suburban men and suburban women. For every 100 men working, 69 in Cleveland are employed in occupations at this level; in East Cleveland 39; and in Lakewood 32. For every 100 women working, 47 in Cleveland are employed at this level, 23 in East Cleveland, and 29 in Lakewood. As to the separate types of occupations making up the lower level, it is seen that this generalization holds for each of the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled groups, with one exception. The percentage of semi-skilled women exceeds that for men in Lakewood by about one point. But for servants, the generalization does not hold, since in that type the proportion of women greatly exceeds that of men. The skilled and unskilled occupations are, by and large, considered men's work but there is no prejudice against women working in semi-skilled occupations as machine operators. In city and in suburb the arrangement of these four types of occupations according to size for men shows the same order, and this order shows a decreasing number from top to bottom--skilled having the most workers, followed by semi-skilled, unskilled, and servants. The arrangement according to size for women also shows the same order in city and in suburb, but the order does not correspond to that for the men. Servants rank first, semi-skilled second, skilled third, and unskilled fourth.

The third point is implied in the very phrase "occupational distribution." While occupational classes tend to become segregated in one or another residential suburb, no one class is found to the exclusion of all other classes in any suburb. All levels are present but the class which is represented to a greater degree in one suburb than in another seems to hold the balance in differentiating the manner of life among the suburbs. That class may not necessarily include within itself as large a proportion of workers as some others, but the greater that proportion, the more dominant its influence. The two aspects, then, of suburban occupational distribution of interest here are: first, the proportion of an occupational class in one suburb as compared with its proportion in another or in the city--a matter of segregation and second, the relative proportions of classes within one suburb as compared with their relative proportions in another--a matter of

economic stratification. This study shows greater segregation of workers in the upper level occupations in the two suburbs than in the city, and greater in one suburb than in the other. If data on Shaker Heights and Parma were available, no doubt there would be found a greater concentration of upper level occupations in Shaker Heights than in any of the other three, and the least such concentration in Parma. On the other hand, Parma would undoubtedly show a greater concentration in the lower classes than any of the other three.[1] In regard to the relative proportion of classes within Lakewood and East Cleveland, it is seen that the percentage of workers in the middle level of occupations is the highest in each case and approximately the same; the lower level occupations rank second in size, and the upper levels third, but the percentages are different. Lakewood has more in the upper level and less in the lower than has East Cleveland. The greater percentage of 3.6 points in the upper level seems to account for the higher economic level and prestige of Lakewood.

Since the segregation of workers of one or another occupational class within a given suburb largely determines the economic values of the suburb, that status will be maintained only as long as there is no significant invasion of workers of a different occupational class. Further, such segregation represents the function of the residential suburb in the metropolitan community's division of labor. It is also apparent that the sex division of labor operates in city and suburb alike but that suburban selectivity operates at the same time. Sex division of labor is evident in the fact that male and female workers occupy the same relationship of more or less to each other in all occupational groups in both suburbs and city; suburban selectivity is evident in the proportions in each group. The four suburbs present the common phenomenon of the majority of wage earners finding their work in communities other than the suburb. At least

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[1]This assumption is supported by the distribution of outstanding people in the Cleveland Metropolitan District whose birthdays were noted in the Cleveland Plain Dealer over a period of years. All individuals thus brought to public attention were in the upper level occupations. Shaker Heights had 59.9 per 100,000 population 30 years of age and over, and Parma had none. Shaker Heights had proportionally more than ten times as many as Lakewood and more than thirteen times as many as East Cleveland.

four-fifths of the workers in three suburbs, according to the sample, find employment outside the suburb and three-fourths of those in the fourth suburb, Lakewood. In each case the great majority are employed in the city. Lakewood has a fourth of its workers employed in the suburb, and Shaker Heights has only about a tenth. Parma and East Cleveland have 19 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. Due to the smallness of the sample, the exact proportions cannot be considered as representative of the whole, but they indicate the general situation that several times as many suburban people work outside the suburb as do inside. Furthermore, the sample shows that more women proportionally than men find employment in the suburb except in the case of Shaker Heights. It is undoubtedly true there as well, due to the large numbers of women domestic servants who are not adequately represented in the sample.

Of the concomitant elements of occupation--distance to work, transportation facilities, and time--time is the most important in the life of the worker. The time to go to and from work is that "no man's land" between actual hours of work and leisure hours. Time depends upon distance and transportation facilities. The workers in Cleveland and its four suburbs are perhaps fortunate in that at least half need spend little more than an hour going to and from work each day.[1] A comparatively small percentage of workers in Lakewood (5.3 per cent), East Cleveland (5.4 per cent), and Shaker Heights (2.9 per cent) spend two hours or more in transit each day, but a much higher percentage in Parma (18.7 per cent) and in Cleveland (12.6 per cent) must give that much time to going and coming from work. There is not much difference in time used by Lakewood and East Cleveland workers. Comparing Shaker Heights and Parma, it is seen that while both these suburbs are located approximately the same distance from the center of Cleveland, and both show a very high percentage of automobile users (Shaker Heights 67.6 per cent and Parma 63.2 per cent), nevertheless Parma's workers spend much more time in getting

[1]The median time in Cleveland is 31.1 minutes; in Shaker Heights, 27.8 minutes; in East Cleveland, 30.5 minutes; in Lakewood, 31.6 minutes; and in Parma, 34.0 minutes. The interquartile range for Cleveland, or the time it takes half of Cleveland workers to get to work, is 20 to 40.4 minutes; for Lakewood, 21.9 to 39.1 minutes; for East Cleveland, 20 to 41 minutes; for Shaker Heights, 22.1 to 34.4 minutes; and for Parma 27.1 to 47.1 minutes.

to and from work than do Shaker Heights workers. Of the latter, 27.7 per cent ride to their work in Cleveland on the rapid transit, which is almost as speedy as the automobile. In Parma approximately the same percentage (26.6 per cent) use the street car, a much slower means of transit.[1] Another reason for the greater amount of time used by Parma's workers is the greater distance that many of them have to go. In comparison with Shaker Heights workers, at least twice as many proportionally go ten miles or more. In these two suburbs the ultimate cause for the difference in time required to get to work is probably the occupational segregation. Although supported by scant data, it is assumed from common knowledge that the majority of workers in Shaker Heights, barring domestic servants who live and work in the same place, are in the professional, managerial, and white collar occupations; their places of work are more concentrated and more directly, easily, and quickly reached than is the case of Parma workers. Large numbers from Parma find their employment in industrial plants, which are probably less concentrated and are surely less directly and easily reached than the offices of downtown Cleveland or those along its main thoroughfares.

In Cleveland, while very large numbers work in industrial plants and more than half use the slower methods of transportation, the time is shorter because the workers undoubtedly do not have to travel so far. The similarity of time for East Cleveland and Lakewood seems due to a counterbalancing of elements. While a slightly higher percentage in Lakewood than in East Cleveland use automobiles, about half as large a proportion walk to work. Street car riders are more numerous proportionally in Lakewood than in East Cleveland, but they consume less time. There is a 6.5 minute difference in the time medians (Lakewood 36 minutes, East Cleveland 42.5 minutes), about the difference in time required by street car to cover the additional mile to East Cleveland from the center of Cleveland. Lakewood has a greater percentage of workers in occupations carried on in and around the center of Cleveland, and East Cleveland has more work-

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[1]The data on the suburbs sustain the statement by McKenzie that "The average automobile travels in 25 minutes a distance for which the average street car requires 60 minutes." R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 291.

ers proportionally in industrial plants. Nevertheless, due to the nearness of an industrial area to East Cleveland, its industrial workers do not necessarily spend more time in reaching their places of employment than Lakewood's professional, managerial, and white collar workers use in getting downtown.

The elements that apparently enter into the determination of the time used by workers in any suburban community depend, then, upon distance, means of transportation, and occupational distribution. The greater the occupational distribution, the greater the scatter of workers within the area; the wider the distribution of industrial areas, the wider the scatter of the industrial workers, and the longer the average transit time for workers in the lower levels of occupations. Further, the greater the transit time of the suburban workers as a whole, the less the available time[1] for participation in leisure time activities of the community. In increasing or decreasing leisure time, transit time influences the life in a suburb.

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[1]While the time taken to get to and from work seems a great social loss when you consider the increase in fatigue caused thereby, the total number of hours spent by all workers in this way (about 5,000 hours a day for Parma alone) and the little use that can be made of this time, nevertheless the conditions which demand such use of time have certain benefits, according to Kaethe Liepmann. She holds that this daily migration to work gives the worker greater independence than if living in houses near work furnished by the employer, that it allows members of a family to live in one place and work where they can get work or want to work, that it gives workers a wider chance at jobs, and that it mitigates the industrial hardships of unemployment. Kaethe Liepmann, "Journey to Work," Industrial Welfare and Personnel Management, July, 1936, pp. 12-15.

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE IN THE FOUR SUBURBS: THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

In the last two chapters there has been presented the structure of the four suburbs according to race and nationality, sex and age, and occupation. These factors directly influence the structure of the suburban family. While the family is a basic social institution in every community, it takes on added significance in the residential suburb. Suburban life is organized around the family in contrast with the city where economic and political institutions tend to dominate the urban way of life. Increasingly the family, unable to realize its needs and ambitions and to carry on its functions satisfactorily in competing with the economic institutions, retreats to the residential suburb where, for a time at least, it maintains a dominant position. From that vantage position the suburban family is able to earn its living in the city and enjoy the city's cultural offerings, and at the same time carry on a domestic and avocational life according to the standards of the prevailing social class in any particular residential suburb. The only other social institutions which develop are those meeting the non-economic needs of the family--the school, the church, voluntary associations, and the local shopping centers for immediate consumption goods. The residential suburb tends to maintain its structure and function of serving the family in spite of the more or less constant change in the number and character of families within its boundaries. Families enter and families leave. In later chapters, the standards of living of suburban families as represented largely in the kinds of houses they live in, their degree of adjustment as seen in the number and frequency of families moving, their churches, schools, and voluntary associations will be discussed. In this chapter, the structure of the family in the four residential suburbs, as revealed in marital status, size of family, and number of young children, will be presented as essential data in the examination of the suburban family.

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Comparison of the Suburbs

All four suburbs have a lesser percentage of single people than the central city, a higher percentage of married, Lakewood and East Cleveland have a higher percentage of widowed, and East Cleveland alone has a slightly higher percentage of divorced. Of the suburbs, Shaker Heights has the highest percentage of single and Parma the least; Parma ranks first in the percentage married and fourth in the percentage widowed and divorced. Of the four suburbs, Parma only has an appreciably greater percentage of single males than of single females. In this it corresponds to the sex distribution of single people in Cleveland. Again, Parma alone with the central city has a somewhat higher percentage of its women married than of its men. In the other three suburbs the percentages of the men married greatly exceeds that of the women. In city and suburbs alike, many more females than males are widowed and to a lesser degree divorced. In practically all aspects of distribution according to marital status, Parma approaches closest to that of the central city, and Shaker Heights is most removed.

The marital status of the population 15 years old and over makes possible two generalizations: all the suburbs have proportionally less single people than the city; all the suburbs have proportionally more married ones than the city. Two other tendencies appear: one, for the suburbs to have more widowed; and the other, to have less divorced than the city. The exception to the proportion of widowed in Shaker Heights and Parma corresponds with the smaller size of the age groups 65 and over in these suburbs. This, in turn, may be attributed to their recent development. In time, the proportion of widowed will no doubt increase.

The sex ratios for marital status allow for qualified generalizations only, since once more Parma stands apart from the other three suburbs. The suburbs in contrast to the city have more single females than single males, with Parma as the exception; about the same number of each married, with a tendency toward more married women than married men, with Parma following Cleveland in having more married men than married women. The widowed women outnumber the widowed men in city and suburb alike,

but to a greater degree in the suburb than in the city--Parma excepted. Divorced women likewise exceed divorced men in suburb and city, but to a greater degree in the suburb than in the city. The exception, Parma, offers in sex ratios for marital status again may be attributed, in part at least, to its high percentage of foreign-born and its semi-rural character.

Each of the suburbs has a lower percentage of one-person families and a higher percentage of three and four-person families than Cleveland has. It has less two-person families proportionally than Lakewood and East Cleveland and more than Shaker Heights and Parma. In families of six or more persons all four suburbs show lesser percentages than Cleveland. Parma has a percentage less than one point lower than Cleveland, while the percentages for the other three are half or less than half as large as Cleveland's. Lakewood and East Cleveland have smaller medians, and Shaker and Parma larger medians, than Cleveland, while Parma alone has a larger mean.

Much the same relationships between Cleveland and these four suburbs follow in comparing families having children under 10 years of age. Lakewood and East Cleveland tend to group themselves together as having fewer of their families proportionally with children under 10 years of age than has Cleveland, while Shaker Heights and Parma present the reverse situation. Parma stands out for the percentage of its families with two or more children under 10 years of age.

Amid the variations in size of family, three general statements can be made differentiating the size of family in city and suburb: the suburbs have fewer one-person families; the suburbs have more three, four, and five-person families; and the suburbs have fewer families containing six or more persons. There is, however, considerable variation among the suburbs themselves. Parma and Shaker Heights both have a very small number of one-person families, while East Cleveland approaches closest to Cleveland. Parma and Shaker Heights again stand together in a relatively small percentage of two-person families, with East Cleveland having a high percentage. Shaker Heights stands out for its high proportion of families of over five members; and East Cleveland has the smallest family and Parma the largest.

A number of factors enter into any explanation of these differences. Probably the most important are nativity and eco-

nomic status. As has been seen, Parma has the highest percentage of foreign-born and, as will be seen, the lowest economic status. Under both conditions, large families are the rule. The high percentage of medium-sized families in Shaker Heights may indicate that families of the highest social and economic levels are tending to increase the size of their families, as Huntington found was the case among the families of distinguished men studied by him.[1] The situation in East Cleveland does not seem so clear. It may be due in part to the high proportion of adults in the decade 1910-1920. More probably it is related to the standard of living. The margin between income and cost of living at a given standard no doubt is one factor in determining the extent to which births are restricted. If the margin between income and cost of living at a relatively high standard is small, then another child will jeopardize the standard the family is trying to maintain or to attain. If that margin is large enough to allow for another child without causing the family to change the economic level of living, then the economic motive for limiting the size of family is not so potent. It would seem that in East Cleveland the margin between income and cost of living has been such as to cause considerable limitation of births in order to maintain the standards desired.

The proportion of families having children under 10 years of age and the number of children in such families allow for no differentiation as between suburb and city. The composition of the families in this respect seems to be the result primarily of the age of married women and of economic status. Those suburbs (Shaker Heights and Parma) with the highest proportion of married women of child-bearing age (15-45 years) have the lowest percentage of families with no children under 10 years of age. The sub-

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[1]Under the impact of the movement for the restriction of families during the last century the ideal family came to be looked upon as having only two children. This ideal is reflected in the size of the families of the men born before 1870. But the pendulum has swung too far. Now it is moving back. That the backward swing should begin among the most distinguished men is natural, for all new movements begin among the more thoughtful and far-sighted members of society. The original movement in the opposite direction toward the reduction of the unduly large families of a century or more ago also began with the leaders. But what the leaders are doing in the present generation, the rank and file will probably do late. Ellsworth Huntington, "A Neglected Tendency in Eugenics," Social Forces, October, 1933, p. 118.

urb with the most children under 10 (Parma) is the lowest in economic status; the suburb ranking second in number of children under 10 (Shaker Heights) is the highest.

Among the four residential suburbs, the indices of marital status, size of family, and number of young children show variations in family structure. The structure varies with wealth, age of married women, and nativity in the different suburbs. The wealthy residential suburb composed largely of native-born whites and with a large proportion of its women of child-bearing age tends first to have considerably more single women than single men (ample income allows for the employment of single women as servants and for keeping daughters at home until married); and second, to have a high percentage of married men, much higher for men than for women (the suburb attracts married men with families; wealthy single men tend to live in apartments and clubs in the city); third, to have families with more children than families of lower income (they can afford to have children without jeopardizing their plane of living); and fourth, to have more children under 10 years of age (families of means with young children tend to move into the suburb for the sake of the children). In the middle class suburb with about the same proportion of foreign-born citizens as the wealthy suburb but smaller proportion of women of child-bearing age, the disparity between single women and single men decreases appreciably (fewer servants and more daughters working away from home); the percentage of married men decreases and that of married women increases; the size of family decreases; and the number of families with no children under 10 increases appreciably. In the poor suburb with the highest percentage of foreign-born and high percentage of women of child-bearing age, the single men are proportionally much greater in number than the single women (the latter may be working as servants in the wealthy suburb); the total percentage married is highest and the percentage of women married is much higher than that of men; the size of family is largest; and the number of families with no children under 10 is smallest.

The patterns of family structure for the wealthy and the poor residential suburbs of Cleveland correspond in the main with those presented by Lundberg for similar types of suburbs in Westchester County, New York. The only significant difference lies in the proportion of married women in the poor suburb in each

case. In the Cleveland suburb, the proportion of married women is much higher than in the wealthy suburb; in the New York suburb, the proportion is lower.[1]

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[1]George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerny, Leisure: A Suburban Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 170-73.

CHAPTER VI

THE PEOPLE IN FOUR SUBURBS: THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING

The phrase "standards of living in the suburbs" raises two questions: What is the meaning of "standards of living"? and Has a suburb a standard of living or has it standards of living? The expression "standard of living" seems to be generally used without exact definition. It is taken for granted that everybody knows what it means. Most frequently it is employed to designate the "plane of living or objective list of goods and services currently achieved in consumption and, therefore, enumerable by an observer."[1] Less commonly it is used to refer to the ideas, ideals, and desires which determine the kind of things consumed. Sometimes the idea of compulsion is included, as when E. T. Devine states: "In simplest terms the standard of living means all those things which one insists upon having"[2] and again when he calls it a "controlling force that shapes every life."[3] Sometimes the expression refers to all the things one desires rather than just the things "one insists upon having." Analysis of the concept seems to indicate that the standard of living is not the plane of living or the all-inclusive desires, but is that area of desires which if not realized causes loss of self respect and humiliation. The manner of living is "something that reveals and throws light on the standard."[4] The standard is subjective; the manner of living is its objective manifestation. The locality where families live, the kinds of dwellings they occupy, the type of work they do, their size, the way they educate their children, the nature of the institutions which they support--all are measures of the standard but

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[1]B. R. Andrews, Economics of the Household (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), p. 130.

[2]E. T. Devine, The Normal Life (2d ed. rev.; New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie, 1917), p. 1.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Hazel Kyrk, Theory of Consumption (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), p. 175.

are not the standard itself. On the other hand there is a whole realm of desires which, if attainable, would be pleasing but the possession of which is not necessary to one's well being. Hazel Kyrk differentiates between the standard of living and the ideal standard as follows:

> Everyone, it might be said, has more or less consciously formulated an ideal standard of living, a level toward which he moves as income and other opportunities permit. He has, also, again not necessarily consciously formulated, a standard he insists upon maintaining. To attain the first would be a highly desirable state of economic well-being; to attain the second is essential and to fall below is intolerable. The ideal standard includes all things hoped for. It is the projection line into the future; it shows direction of change. But there is a standard other than the ideal standard. There is a scale of preferences, a code or plan for material living that satisfies our sense of the necessary, the decent, the tolerable although it does not represent our ideal.[1]

But the standard of living is more than a mere realm of desire; it is an impelling desire to act toward certain objects in a given way. In other words it is an attitude. The objects toward which it is directed are consumption goods and the act is to get possession of them. Again to quote Kyrk:

> Standard of living is a psychological fact. It is an attitude toward, a way of regarding, or judging, a given mode of living. It is a subjective view of certain objective facts. A standard implies a measurement, an evaluation, a judgment according to some accented model. It is that scale of preferences, that hierarchy of interests, that code or plane of material well-being which directs our expenditures into certain channels and satisfies our sense of propriety and decency as a mode of living.[2]

It is these attitudes which make up the standard which determines the choice of purchaseable objects. They determine at a given income level whether the family will buy an automobile or a house, whether there shall be beauty treatments or meat, books or a larger apartment.

As attitudes, standards of living are social in origin, arise out of the mores of the group. Sumner says they are the "purest of all products of the mores," that they are the "product of the mores of a sub-group," that they are "traditional" and "habitual," and are "upheld by fear of social disapproval."[3]

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[1]Kyrk, Economic Problems of the Family (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), pp. 373-4.

[2]Kyrk, Theory of Consumption, p. 175.

[3]W. G. Sumner, Folkways (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1906), p. 171

Further standards are uniform and stable within a sub-group or class and each class exercises a compelling power over individuals and families within the class to maintain its standards and penalizes those who fall below by loss of social status. Of course individual variations are found within each class, but the individual's exercise of choice is limited: "there are penalties for choosing wrongly."[1]

Two further points need to be brought out in regard to the standard of living. First, the economic values at any time and place are an integrated part of the total social complex and so "reflect the total environment of the individual, the 'cultural content' of his age and group, as do his other codes and standards."[2] Second, the standards of various classes in a society are dominated by the values that are pre-eminent in the society as a whole, and economic values take their place in the hierarchy of any class according to the dominant theme of the total social complex. In the United States the emphasis upon wealth and material possessions places economic values at the top of the hierarchy and, accordingly, these values occupy first place among all classes; that is, we do not find one class emphasizing moral or aesthetic values first and another emphasizing the economic.

If these two points are accepted, it follows that the plane of living of its families gives a methodological approach to the standards of living of any class or locality and also acts as a key to the total cultural life. Since all classes rate economic values so highly, analysis of the modes of living of different groups of families allows for evaluation and comparison. Such evaluation cannot be made in absolute terms but only on a relative basis such as high or low and comparison on the basis of higher or lower. Pipping, in discussing the measurement of standards, says:

> The height of standards is arbitrary and dependent upon the judgment or evaluation of society. Different groups have different standards which arrange themselves in a scale, not wholly in accordance with income, but also to some extent according to social estimation of education, artistic skill, etc. In the long run, however, these mental advantages must be accompanied by corresponding incomes, unless proletarization of the class is to follow. . . . It is a comparatively easy task to measure, not the absolute height of standards (which seems impossible), but their relative height. Every standard contains items (utilities and services) measurable quantitatively or in

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

money which can be grouped either in absolute terms or according to the proportion in which they are represented in the different standards.[1]

This leads to the question of the comparison of suburbs on the basis of standards of living as objectified in the goods and services consumed by their families. Has the suburb a single standard? Is it made up of one class? Is it homogeneous to the extent that each suburb stands out as different from other suburbs so that comparison of standards of each as a unit can be made with other suburbs? In a strict definition of the terms class, standard of living, or homogeneity of income, the answer is no, but within broader interpretations of these terms, the answer is yes. The data to be presented show that each suburb is characterized by certain levels of family living which group themselves about a center, describable in such relative terms as high or middle or low. In contrast, the city presents a whole gamut of levels. We can get a fairly exact picture of the situation if we think of the city as a broad background of graduated levels and the suburbs, if placed against this background, as occupying a certain portion, some occupying more space than others but all having an area of density with shading on each side. Thus, although absolute homogeneity in planes of family living does not exist in any suburb, it can be said that relative homogeneity does exist and to sufficient degree that we can speak of the standard of living of a suburb, having in mind the core level and recognizing that there is more or less spread about the core.

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Comparison and Interpretation

In the introduction to this chapter it was stated that while no one plane of living is found in any one suburb there is a tendency toward greater homogeneity than is found in the central city. The various indices presented substantiate this statement. The distribution of families by census tracts according to equivalent monthly rental gives a general measure of the economic levels to be found within the suburbs as well as the city and is one

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[1] H. L. Pipping, "The Concept Standard of Life," Economic Essays in Honor of Gustav Cassel (London: G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1933), pp. 516-17.

of the most significant indices to the standard of living. The other measures seem to fill out the picture of what may be expected to accompany such economic level or levels.

It has been seen that there are families living in census tracts in Cleveland whose economic levels range from the lowest to the highest but do not include the highest. Cleveland does have families whose individual plane of living is as high as any found in the suburbs, but there are not sufficient numbers of them in any one census tract to raise the level of the whole tract to fourteen. Further, the distribution shows comparatively few areas where the equivalent monthly rentals indicate a plan of living above the middle level.[1] Cleveland's families are concentrated in the lower middle class and lower economic levels. In these two groups were found 82 per cent of all families in 1930.

In contrast to this wide spread of the city stand the suburbs. Lakewood, the largest suburb, has its families distributed over nine levels; East Cleveland, next in size, over five; Parma, the smallest, over four; and Shaker Heights, over two. Moreover, there is greater concentration of families at consecutive levels than in the city. For Lakewood these consecutive levels are 10, 11, and 12, where 69.4 per cent of the families are found. Lakewood has 56.5 per cent of its families in the upper middle and upper level groups. East Cleveland presents concentration at levels 9, 10, and 11, which include 82.8 per cent of its families. East Cleveland shows less spread and more concentration than does Lakewood. Its families are largely grouped in the middle and upper middle levels. It has no families in the lower levels as has Lakewood, but more in the lower middle. Parma shows even more concentration than East Cleveland, but at lower economic levels. As in East Cleveland, it has no families at lower levels, 72.4 per cent in the lower middle, and 27.6 per cent in the middle group. In Shaker Heights is found the greatest concentration; all

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[1] On the basis of 1930 rentals the fourteen economic levels seemed to be divisible into five groups: levels 1 to 4 inclusive (maximum monthly rental $30.00, to be designated as the lower level); 5 to 7 inclusive (equivalent monthly rentals $30.00 to $45.00, as lower middle level); 8 to 10 inclusive (equivalent monthly rentals $45.00 to $60.00, as middle level); 11 and 12 (equivalent monthly rentals $60.00 to $75.00, as upper middle levels); and 13 and 14 (equivalent monthly rental $75.00 and over, as upper level). These equivalent monthly rentals would be much lower now.

its families are in the two upper levels. The two suburbs with large populations have more spread and less concentration; the two suburbs with considerably less population have less spread and more concentration. In each case, however, there is less spread and more concentration than in the city itself.

Further, the economic levels at which the concentration occurs is assumed to indicate the plane of living predominating in that suburb. In general terms, Shaker Heights is unquestionably in the upper class level, Lakewood may be ranked as upper middle class, East Cleveland as middle class, and Parma as lower middle class. This was the status of these suburbs in 1930. The depression has shown its effects since that time, but the position of the suburbs in relation to one another remains unchanged, since practically no family anywhere escaped its consequences. It meant a general lowering of the plane of living. For 1935 there are two measures which show the same relative positions of he suburbs, namely, the income tax returns and the number of families on relief.

On the basis of population 21 years of age and over in 1930, Shaker Heights had in 1935, 258 income tax returns per 1,000; Lakewood had 151; East Cleveland, 107; and Parma, 65. Cleveland had 81. One hundred and sixty-six per 1,000 population 21 years of age and over were taxable in Shaker Heights, 76 in Lakewood, 46 in East Cleveland, and only 21 in Parma. Cleveland had 32 per 1,000 taxable.

While income tax returns are revealing as to the status of financial well-being of the suburb, relief cases point out the degree of destitution that exists. As expected, the suburbs reverse their order in the latter case. Parma now comes first, with 19 families per 100 on relief in 1935; East Cleveland follows, with 10.6, then Lakewood with 8.6, and Shaker Heights, with 1.8. Cleveland had 34.9 families per 100 on relief. In addition to indicating the relative status of the suburbs, these figures suggest that while families as a whole may cluster at certain economic levels, there are individual families which do not come within their limits. This is especially noticeable in the case of Shaker Heights. Although all its families in 1930 were living in areas rated at the top of the economic scale, there were evidently a few families far enough down on the scale that the depression put them on relief. Another point that calls for ex-

planation is the one that Parma, having fewer income tax returns than Cleveland, has likewise fewer families proportionally on relief. This is evidently due to the spread of Cleveland families over the various economic levels. Cleveland had some families in the highest levels and many more in the lowest. Parma had all her families clustered around the lower middle levels. Accordingly there would be fewer paying income taxes, fewer continuate relief families, and fewer marginal families that the depression would throw on relief.

Among the more specific measures that have been analyzed to throw light on the planes of living in these various suburbs is home ownership. This measure in and of itself seems more directly associated with stability than with the standard of living. Parma at the lowest economic level had the highest percentage of home ownership in 1930, and East Cleveland, ranking next above in economic level, had the lowest percentage--about 5 points lower than Cleveland's and only about two-fifths as large as Parma's. Lakewood and Shaker Heights both have much larger proportions than Parma. These suburbs retain the same order although the proportion of home owners changes between 1930 and 1934.

For the two larger suburbs and for Cleveland there is an absolute decrease in the number of homes maintained during this period. This is no doubt due to "doubling up." The decrease was greatest in the city where the percentage of low economic areas is greatest, and least in Lakewood whose economic status is on the whole higher than East Cleveland's. In the two smaller suburbs there is an increase of at least a fifth in the total number of homes. Parma, in spite of its economic status, showed a larger increase than Shaker Heights. There was doubling up in these two suburbs as well as in the others and in the city, but evidently the impetus to growth[1] in these younger suburbs was too great to be offset by the depression.

In the city, while the distribution as between owned and rented homes remained practically the same in 1934 as in 1930, both decreased in numbers during that period. In East Cleveland the distribution changed a little; a smaller percentage (1.1 points) of the total homes were owned in 1934 and a larger per-

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[1]Shaker Heights increased 1000.4 per cent in population from 1920 to 1930 and Parma 494 per cent.

centage (1.8 points) were rented, but the actual number of owned homes decreased 3.7 per cent and the number of rented homes increased 0.8 per cent. A similar situation obtains in Lakewood, with greater percentage changes. The proportion of owned homes in 1934 was 3 points less than for 1930, and for rented homes it was 3.6 points greater. The changes in actual number of owned homes was a decrease of 6.9 per cent and of rented homes an increase of 6.3 per cent. Shaker Heights and Parma likewise showed decreased percentages of home ownership (9.4 points for Shaker Heights and 12 points for Parma) and increased percentages of rented dwellings (10.2 points for Shaker Heights and 12 points for Parma); but the actual number of owned homes increased by 3.9 per cent in Shaker Heights and 2.7 per cent in Parma, while Shaker Heights showed a 60.1 per cent increase in rented quarters and Parma 84.1 per cent. This phenomenon is evidently due to the more rapid increase in number of families in Shaker Heights and Parma than in the other two suburbs. In general, the depression increased the proportion of rented homes in all suburbs but to a very much greater extent where that percentage had been low in 1930.

In connection with home ownership, it is interesting to note the number of homes that are only partially paid for. In the two younger suburbs, where home ownership is highest, the fewest homes are owned outright; in the two older suburbs, where the proportion of home ownership is considerably less, a much larger percentage is free of financial incumbrance. Further, the percentage of homes entirely paid for is practically the same for East Cleveland, Lakewood, and Cleveland. No doubt the element of time enters in here. More families have had sufficient time to pay for their homes in these places. In the long-term financing plans for home ownership, suburbs of practically only fifteen years' existence or less are not old enough to have any large percentage of their homes owned free.

These various aspects of home ownership seem to be the result of social processes not directly related to the standard of living or to suburban life. They represent the trends toward apartment house living and non-ownership of homes as the community grows older, more densely populated, and more diversified in economic levels and types of families. The economic effects of the depression were general and probably just speeded up the change

from home ownership to renting. Where this process was well advanced, as in the older more densely populated areas, the change was not so great. The situation is also apparent that at all economic levels people borrow to buy homes. Since in the suburbs of lowest and highest levels the greatest percentage of homes are not paid for, the distribution of financial incumbrances on homes is evidently not directly related to economic level. The difference lies in the value of the home that has been bought and not in the method of buying it.

When the question of value of homes is raised, the planes of living become discernible. All the suburbs had median values for owned homes in 1930 greater than those of the central city; all decreased in value during the depression, but the relationships remained the same. The same may be said in regard to rents. Although the monetary value of the family dwelling decreased, the essential nature of the dwelling remained the same. There was no doubt more than normal depreciation. Large houses with landscaped lawns were still large houses with landscaped lawns, while little homes with few conveniences remained so. In comparing the suburbs at the 1930 level, the greatest contrasting values are for owned homes in Shaker Heights and Parma. The median value in the former was more than $20,000; in the latter, $6,958. Between these two lies Lakewood, with a median value of homes at $11,447 and East Cleveland, at $10,613. In 1930 only 7.5 per cent of owned homes in Shaker Heights were valued at less than $10,000; 85.2 per cent of Parma's owned homes were so valued, 45.6 per cent of East Cleveland's, and 39.2 per cent of Lakewood's. For Cleveland 79.7 per cent of owned homes were valued at less than $10,000.

An analysis of rents indicates again the high plane of living in Shaker Heights, a middle plane in Lakewood and East Cleveland, and a much lower plane in Parma. In Shaker Heights 25 out of every 100 families renting houses in 1930 paid $100 or more a month, 3 per 100 paid $200 or more, only 12 per 100 paid less than $50, and less than 1 family per 100 paid less than $30. In Lakewood only one-fifth as many per 100 paid $100 or more, 25 per 100 paid less than $50, and 10 per 100 paid less than $30. In East Cleveland less than two families per 100 paid as much as $100, 41 per 100 paid less than $50, and 3 per 100 less than $30. In Parma none paid as much as $75 a month, 83 per 100 paid less

than $60, and 24 per 100 less than $30. For Cleveland slightly more than 1 family per 100 paid $100 or more rent per month, 81 per 100 paid less than $50, while 36 per 100 paid less than $30.

The range of values of homes represents a range of types and sizes of dwelling places. The one-family house is the main type of family unit in three suburbs, Parma (89.5 per cent), Shaker Heights (62.1 per cent), and Lakewood (44.3 per cent), but not in East Cleveland (28.1 per cent) where two-family houses (32.8 per cent) and apartments (29.2 per cent) are more numerous. In the city also, one-family houses outnumber any other type of family unit, but the two-family is a close second. East Cleveland stands out for the higher percentage of apartments. It has more than twice as many as either Lakewood or Cleveland. Shaker Heights has very few and Parma practically none.

In city and suburb the largest family unit is the one-family house. These may vary in size, but whatever the prevailing size the other types are smaller and the apartment is the smallest type. Further, in the suburbs the larger the prevailing single house, the larger the other types tend to be. The size of family dwelling in the suburb thus tends to conform to a pattern the dominant part of which is the prevailing size of one-family houses. In Shaker Heights are to be found the largest proportion of the largest single houses; 81.5 per cent have 7 or more rooms and only 2.7 per cent have less than 6. Common descriptions of Shaker Heights homes offered for sale read as follows: "ten rooms and three baths,"[1] "12 rooms, 4 baths, including a library, sun room, and recreation room,"[2] "6 bedrooms and four baths on second floor,"[3] "10 rooms and 3 baths with recreation room."[4] In this suburb 55.6 per cent of all family units have 7 or more rooms. East Cleveland has 56.5 per cent of its single houses as large but only 18.9 per cent of all family units are that size. Lakewood shows a smaller percentage of family units of 7 or more rooms (45.7 per cent) but 22.1 per cent of all units are that

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[1]The $20,000 class. Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dec. 15, 1933.

[2]The $40,000 class. Ibid., July 1, 1934.

[3]The $47,000 class. Ibid., Oct. 12, 1937.

[4]Sold at $75,000; original cost $125,000. Ibid., July 26, 1936.

size. In Parma only 16.9 per cent of the one-family dwellings have 7 or more rooms and 15.3 per cent of all family units are that large. Cleveland has a larger proportion of single houses (34.4 per cent) of 7 or more rooms than Parma, but less than any other suburb, and the proportion of all family units in this class is smaller (14.2 per cent) than that of any suburb. In comparing the medians of the four suburbs, it is seen that the median for the one-family house in Shaker Heights is largest; the situation is the same for two-family houses and for apartments. The median for all family dwellings likewise ranks at the top. East Cleveland's median for single houses follows that of Shaker Heights; the medians for two-family and apartments likewise rank second, but the median for all family units is the smallest and just slightly above that of the city. This is due to the fact that East Cleveland has such a large proportion of apartments--the type of dwelling having the fewest rooms. Lakewood ranks third in the median size of one-family houses and in two-family apartment units, but the median for all dwellings is higher than that for East Cleveland. There is a larger proportion of single houses and a smaller proportion of apartments in Lakewood than in East Cleveland. Parma comes last. The median size of its single-family homes is the smallest, even slightly smaller than Cleveland's, while two-family dwellings and apartments are still smaller. Its median for all units ranks next to Shaker Heights due to the very high proportion of single houses in Parma. In Cleveland, apartments are larger than might be expected, but this is due to the fact that the apartment houses are older.[1] Three fourths were built fifteen years ago or longer, when larger suites were generally provided.

As stated before, while size of dwelling, especially of the single-family house, is one measure of the plane of living in a community, the number of people who occupy the house is a more specific index. According to this index, practically half of

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[1]The age of apartment houses is:

Cleveland	74 per cent built before 1920
Lakewood	25 per cent built before 1920
East Cleveland	37 per cent built before 1920
Shaker Heights	none were built
Parma	one apartment, built since 1930

Green, Standards of Living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District, Special 1935 Report of the Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland (Cleveland, 1935), pp. 51, 466-501, 536-55, 582-93.

Shaker Heights homes were rated as very spacious, that is, less than one-half person per room; two-fifths of Lakewood's were so rated; 37.5 per cent of East Cleveland's; and 31.7 per cent of Parma's. Furthermore, out of every 100 family dwellings, 98 in Shaker Heights had less than 1 person per room, 93.9 per cent in Lakewood, 95.2 per cent in East Cleveland, and 89 per cent in Parma. In Cleveland, 27.1 out of 100 families were living in spacious dwellings, and 84 in dwellings considered adequate. More families in the suburbs have adequate living space than in the city, and fewer families live under crowded conditions. Among the suburbs themselves Shaker Heights stands out as having the greatest number of more than adequate homes, Lakewood has more homes at each extreme than East Cleveland. Lakewood's crowded or overcrowded dwellings are found largely in and around the "Bird's Nest." Parma stands out among the suburbs as having 11 out of every 100 families living in crowded or overcrowded houses. But the conditions there are not so bad as in Cleveland, where 16 out of every 100 families live under such conditions. No suburb is free from some crowded homes. Even Shaker Heights has 2 per 100, although none is overcrowded.

In all suburbs except Shaker Heights between 85 and 90 per cent of the dwellings are constructed of wood, but in Shaker Heights just half are built of wood. Cleveland has more frame dwellings than any suburb. Wood is cheaper material from which to build homes, and earlier Cleveland had an abundance of it both from local sources and from the Lake Superior region. Suburbs having a large proportion of their dwellings built twenty or more years ago, as Lakewood and East Cleveland,[1] and the city would be expected to have the major part of their dwellings of wood, due in part to the availability of that material and in part to the tradition of frame houses. Selection of material in more recent years would be a matter of cost, style of architecture desired, changing tastes, and community regulations relative to fire haz-

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[1]The proportions of houses built prior to 1915 are as follows:

Cleveland	59.6 per cent
Lakewood	29.8 per cent
East Cleveland	37.6 per cent
Shaker Heights	2.6 per cent
Parma	8.4 per cent

Green, Standards of Living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District, pp. 51, 466-501, 536-55, 582-93.

ards and building standards. In three suburbs--Lakewood, East Cleveland, and Parma--no doubt cost of material has been a dominant factor. In Parma the other factors have entered to the least degree. There the demand has been for low cost homes. In East Cleveland and in Lakewood the style of architecture and the more general awareness of brick as a building material of distinction have entered in as factors, especially in certain sections.[1] The city ordinances requiring use of materials other than wood as fire protective measures in these two densely populated suburbs are of too limited application to have affected the general distribution of wood and brick dwellings.[2] The reason that East Cleveland should have more brick dwellings than Lakewood is due to the fact that East Cleveland has proportionally many more apartment houses which are so largely constructed of brick. In Shaker Heights it is probably true that factors other than cost enter into determining building material to as great a degree as cost. There half the dwellings are of material other than wood. There also is found the emphasis upon style of architecture. In contrast to the other three suburbs, the style of the dwelling is constantly mentioned in newspaper reports of sales and of new buildings. There a house is not just "eight rooms and two baths"; it is a "Georgian brick of eight rooms and two baths." Further, in Shaker Heights a suburban regulation requires houses to harmonize in style of architecture and size in order to meet aesthetic standards set for certain neighborhoods. Moreover, nearly every dwelling in Shaker Heights has a garage attached to it (98.9 per cent). This is not true for the other suburbs, although each has more than four-fifths of its dwellings with garages. The city has not nearly so many, with 65 per cent. Lakewood ranks second in this respect, Parma third, and East Cleveland a close fourth.

In the matter of indoor water closets and fixed bathing facilities, again Shaker Heights heads the list with the highest proportion of its dwellings having 2 or more indoor water closets and bath tubs or shower baths. In proportion it has more than

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[1] Clifton Park and Lake Avenue in Lakewood; Terrace Road and Rockefeller development in East Cleveland.

[2] Statement by the City Building Departments of Lakewood and East Cleveland, December 10, 1937.

nine times as many dwelling places with 2 or more bath tubs or showers as has Lakewood, which ranks second. East Cleveland ranks third in this respect and Parma fourth, having less than 1 per cent of its homes so equipped. Parma stands out because it has so many dwellings without either indoor water closets or bath tubs or showers. This is due to the semi-rural character of the suburb as well as to its lower economic level. In the three suburbs the sanitary facilities of the homes are better than those for Cleveland, but Parma's are not better.

Ownership of automobiles and radios has become so widespread among all economic classes that their possession no longer seems to mean very much as a class differential. The ownership, however, of two or more automobiles seems a significant factor in the plane of living. The largest proportion of families owning 2 or more automobiles is found in Shaker Heights. This proportion (31.3 per cent) is four times that of Lakewood ranking next (8.0 per cent) and six times that of East Cleveland and Parma, the latter two suburbs having practically the same proportion (5.1 and 5.2 per cent respectively) and thirteen times that of Cleveland (2.4 per cent). The suburbs all show at least twice as great a proportion of families owning two or more automobiles as does the city.

As mechanical refrigeration has not yet become as common as automobiles and radios, it offers another index of some meaning to the evaluation of the plane of living in the suburbs. In each suburb more families proportionally have mechanical refrigeration in their homes than have families in the city. While 12 out of every 100 city dwellings are so equipped, 18 in Parma are in possession of mechanical refrigeration, 40 in East Cleveland, 41 in Lakewood, and 78 in Shaker Heights. An examination of mechanical refrigeration as found in one-family houses and apartments shows that it is much more common in apartments than in private homes. Although only one more family per 100 in Lakewood than in East Cleveland has this convenience, nevertheless there is a significant difference. In Lakewood 47 per cent of all mechanical refrigerators are in private homes and 29.6 per cent in apartments; in East Cleveland 22.9 per cent are in single-family homes and 57.0 per cent in apartments. While there is no way of knowing how many were purchased by the families living in single houses it may be presumed that a large proportion were; on the

other hand, it is almost certain that none of the families living in apartments bought its own mechanical refrigerator. Thus while about the same proportion of families in Lakewood and East Cleveland have mechanical refrigeration, the figures indicate a much higher proportion of families in Lakewood as financially able to buy their own than in East Cleveland.

Another factor sometimes used to describe the plane of living is vegetable gardens. This measure is not a very consistent factor as it seems to mean one thing in one suburb and another in another. People raise vegetables under urban conditions for various reasons. Some have vegetable gardens because they need the produce to supplement other forms of income; others have them because they like gardening as an avocation; and a few others because they can afford to hire gardeners to raise fine and rare vegetables for their tables. Whatever the motive back of the garden, there must be sufficient land available. Since East Cleveland and Lakewood are quite densely populated suburbs and have many apartments, especially East Cleveland, it is not surprising to find such a low percentage of families having vegetable gardens. What land is available is, from observation, used largely for lawns and flower gardens. The ordinary suburban lot in these two suburbs allows insufficient land to have a worthwhile vegetable garden and it does not enhance the appearance of the property as do a lawn and a flower bed. Probably few vegetable gardens in either of these suburbs add much to family income.

In East Cleveland the areas of lowest economic level have the least vegetable gardens (just 1 per cent) and in Lakewood the two areas of lowest economic level are surpassed in percentage of vegetable gardens by an area in the upper middle level.[1] Since these low economic areas are the most densely populated, the necessary land upon which to cultivate a vegetable garden is not available. In Shaker Heights and Parma the situation is different. Parma is semi-rural and in the southern part of the suburb where some of the families still have farms, about 60 per cent have vegetable gardens. This part of Parma is rated at economic levels 5 and 6. In Shaker Heights the area rated at level 13 and most densely populated for this suburb has the highest percentage

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[1]From comparison of percentages of vegetable gardens and economic levels by census tracts. Green, Standards of Living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District, pp. 466-501, 536-55, 582-93.

of vegetable gardens (15 per cent) while one area rated at 14 and least densely populated has the next highest percentage (12 per cent) and another of like economic level has the least (1 per cent). Thus it would seem that families of lower economic level tend to have more vegetable gardens than those of high economic level, provided land is available. In very densely populated areas, where those of lowest economic level live in the main, and especially apartment house areas, this is not possible. That many families move into the suburbs in order to have some kind of garden is well known, but for the most part that garden is one of flowers and not of vegetables. There is a question whether the constantly shifting apartment families would have gardens if they could. Thus vegetable gardens in sections of Shaker Heights where large estates are common are a sign of luxury and affluence; in Parma they represent in the main a need to supplement income; in East Cleveland, where the need would be greatest, the land is not available and furthermore so many of its people live in apartments; in Lakewood, where next to Shaker Heights most emphasis is placed upon the appearance of the suburb, the general economic level makes possible a choice between flowers and vegetables on the limited land available, and most families choose flowers.

In the main the evidence presented brings out four generalizations in regard to the suburban plane of living:

1. The suburb tends towards homogeneity in its plane of living. There is a marked difference in this respect between the city and the suburb. In the city, all levels of living are found, with a weighting in the lower and lowest levels.

2. As the suburb grows in size and in age, it tends towards greater heterogeneity in planes of living.

3. The suburbs among themselves show wide contrasts in their planes of living, and that difference is one of degree rather than of kind. The poorest suburb has the same things in general as the richest, as represented by ownership of homes, automobiles, radios, gardens, bath rooms, and mechanical refrigerators; and the richest suburb as well as the poorest has families on relief and some who pay no income tax. The difference between the suburbs lies in the quality of the things, material and immaterial, in the number of families possessing them, and in the quantity owned by each family. With respect to material things only, the quality, extent, and quantity of their possession marks the difference between the "subsistence plus" level of Parma and the luxury level of Shaker Heights, the "comfort plus" level of Lakewood and the "comfort" level of East Cleveland.

4. There is a strong tendency towards consistency in the quality, extent, and quantity of things possessed. In the suburb like Shaker Heights, where many families have spacious homes, there is likewise found, for example, a number of families with 2 or more automobiles. Where small commonplace houses predominate, there also is found the family with one or no automobile.

CHAPTER VII

THE PEOPLE IN THE FOUR SUBURBS: THE MOBILITY OF THEIR FAMILIES

Every time a family moves from one locality to another it causes a greater or lesser change, both in the neighborhood left and in the neighborhood entered. The nature and rapidity of such change depends upon the frequency of the movements, upon whether or not the family is replaced, whether the family is an addition, and upon the social and economic status of the family moving. By family movements some neighborhoods become depopulated, some change little in numbers, others increase. At the same time these movements may indicate the modification of the inherent character of the locality, socially or structurally, or in both ways. They may be the result of such modification in one area and the cause in another.

When more families leave an area than move into it, such process of depopulation is usually the result of structural deterioration accompanying a state of transition in land use. The dwellings are allowed to deteriorate, as sooner or later they are to be demolished so that the land may be used for commercial or industrial purposes. Cleveland has a number of such areas located in expanding industrial sections along the Cuyahoga River and in sections adjacent to the downtown trade and wholesale centers.[1] Census tract 18 in Lakewood is the only area in the four suburbs where the process of depopulation seems to be going on. In that tract the number of families decreased steadily though slowly from 1930 to 1935, in all by 5.5 per cent.[2] This tract is located on the edge of a growing industrial section of Cleveland, and this land would no doubt be occupied by manufacturing establishments

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[1] H. W. Green, Real Property Inventory of the Cleveland Metropolitan District, Report No. 6 (Cleveland, 1936), pp. 311-387. The number of families in each tract of these sections in 1930 and in 1935 was compared.

[2] Ibid., p. 373.

but for the zoning ordinances of Lakewood. Furthermore, since the families in this tract are predominantly foreign-born (Czechoslovakian) and are of very low economic status, reduced immigration may have been another factor in limiting the number of families entering, and the depression with "doubling up" may have acted to reduce the total number.

When a locality is characterized by infrequent family movements, either replacements or additions, and when the new family is of the same type as those already living there, that locality is considered stable. In such neighborhoods families usually own their own homes, bonds of common interest develop, and relationships tend to become more personal. It is a jar to such a neighborhood for an old family to move. The local merchants, school, church, and clubs may all be affected. A new family moving in is likewise upsetting. It must be absorbed into the local life. Adjustment will follow without changing the inherent character of the neighborhood, provided there is time for accommodation to one new family before another enters. In other words, stability is a function of the frequency of family movements.

When families flow into a stable neighborhood so fast that there is not time for it to become accommodated to one family before another moves in, the character of the neighborhood changes. Bonds of common interest are broken and relationships tend to become more and more impersonal. The economic level need not necessarily change, but if the pressure of families is great enough, the physical structure will change. The single dwelling gives way to the apartment house; small trade and recreational centers spring up; new schools must be built and churches erected. In some suburbs these natural tendencies have been restricted by zoning and building ordinances, but ordinances will no doubt be modified when the pressure for family units becomes great enough. In popular residential areas the inflow of large numbers of families is accompanied by the outflow of large numbers, although not so large as the inflow. As long as this inflow and outflow of many families lasts, the locality is in a state of flux and may be considered unstable.

There is still another type of change brought about by family movements, namely, the process of succession. When another type of family comes in to replace the one moving out or to enlarge

the neighborhood, one different in economic status and in race or ethnic origin, the effect is very disturbing. Let a large Italian or Russian family or a Negro family enter an American upper class neighborhood and immediately the local atmosphere becomes charged with uneasiness and resentment. The status of the neighborhood is challenged. One old family after another leaves for "better" localities as more Italian, Russian, or Negro families enter. In time the whole character of the area is changed. After a period of disorganization, stability may be again restored but on a lower economic and social level than characterized the neighborhood before. The process of succession has run its course for the time being.

Thus in general, family movements may have one of four effects upon a locality: depopulation, replacement, enlargement, or succession. With depopulation comes eventual abandonment of the area as a dwelling place; with gradual replacement or enlargement by the same type of family, stability is maintained; with replacement and enlargement at a rapid rate, instability is brought about; and with replacement or enlargement by a different type of family, succession ensues.

The data made available in Howard Whipple Green's report of the movements of families in the Cleveland Metropolitan District for the three-year period 1933-1935 make possible an analysis of some of the aspects of family movement in the suburbs. These aspects are the frequency of family movements, their direction, and the economic level of families as measured by equivalent monthly rental[1] of the tracts from which they moved. These data do not allow for the analysis of the process of succession which other data indicate may be going on in part of East Cleveland at least.

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[1]Equivalent monthly rental is explained by Green as follows: "Each census tract is grouped according to economic status into one of fourteen groups based upon its equivalent monthly rental. The equivalent monthly rental is determined from the value of the owned homes as enumerated in the census, April, 1930, converted into monthly rentals of identical quarters and the monthly rental of rented homes enumerated in the census.

"The equivalent monthly rental figure is a weighted median, and indicates that the monthly rental for half of the families in the census tract is that amount or less and for half is that amount or more. . . . Although values and rentals have changed a great deal since April, 1930, the relation of one area to another is quite accurately expressed in this manner."

Green, op. cit., p. 25.

In addition, the report on the standards of living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District[1] furnishes figures for studying the relation between the type of dwelling and the amount of rent to length of occupancy of family units.

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Comparison of the Four Suburbs

The four suburbs show marked variation in frequency of family movements. The two older larger suburbs of Lakewood and East Cleveland have higher indices of movement than Cleveland, and the two younger smaller suburbs of Shaker Heights and Parma have smaller indices. East Cleveland has the highest and Shaker Heights the lowest, meaning that East Cleveland is the center of the greatest number of family movements and Shaker Heights the least. Further, the index of movements for the former deviates much above the average of the five indices.[2] All four suburbs show less movement within their respective communities than does Cleveland. Again the suburbs divide themselves into two groups: East Cleveland and Lakewood approach Cleveland very closely, their indices of movement within the suburbs varying only 2.5 and 3.6 points respectively from the like index for Cleveland. Parma and Shaker Heights show much less movement within, their indices varying 13.9 and 15 points from that of Cleveland. All four suburbs have much greater frequency of movement into and out of the suburbs than is true of Cleveland. East Cleveland stands out as having the highest indices of inflow and outflow of families; its index of movement into the suburb is five points higher than the average of the four indices and the index of movement out is 3.4 points higher.[3] All the other suburbs show indices for both types

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[1]Green, Standards of Living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District, Special 1935 Report of the Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland (Cleveland, 1935).

[2]The average of indices of movement for Cleveland and the four suburbs is 52.3. Deviations of specific indices from the average are as follows:

East Cleveland	21.1	Parma	-11.9
Lakewood	6.3	Shaker Heights	14.7
Cleveland	- 0.8		

[3]The average of indices of movement into suburbs is 13.5; the average of indices of movement out of suburbs is 11.3.

Deviations from Averages			
East Cleveland	5.0	East Cleveland	3.4
Lakewood	- 2.2	Lakewood	- 2.0
Parma	- 0.8	Parma	- 1.0
Shaker Heights	- 1.9	Shaker Heights	- 0.5

of movements less than average. The average of the indices of movement into the suburbs is four and a third times as great as the index of movement into the city, and the average of indices of movement out of the suburbs is three and a half times that of the city. In comparing the inflow and outflow of families with change of residence within, it is found that in Cleveland, East Cleveland, and Lakewood the movements within the community are greater than either the inflow or outflow, but in Parma and Shaker Heights the opposite condition prevails. For Cleveland, however, the differences are much greater than for either East Cleveland or for Lakewood.[1] As a result of movements into and out of the city and suburbs, Cleveland lost families, while the four suburbs gained families, but in different proportions. Cleveland lost 0.1 family per 100 total families and its loss was to the suburbs; East Cleveland gained 3.8 families; Lakewood, 2.0; Parma, 2.4; and Shaker Heights, 0.8. Among the suburbs, as in total frequency of movement, East Cleveland ranks first and Shaker Heights last.

Of the families entering the four suburbs during the three-year period, the largest percentage in each case came from Cleveland. The percentages vary widely, Parma having the highest (72.6 per cent) and Shaker Heights the smallest (39.3 per cent). Parma deviates about as much above the average for the four suburbs as Shaker Heights does below.[2] As to the other two suburbs, East Cleveland has a percentage a little less above the average than Lakewood has below.

In the inter-suburban movement the positions of Parma and Shaker Heights are reversed: Shaker Heights ranks first in the percentage of families received from other suburbs, and Parma last.

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[1]Cleveland's movement within is seven times as great as either movement out or movement into. In the suburbs the difference between movements within and into or out of are as follows:

	Within and Into	Within and Out of
East Cleveland.....	1.6	5.4
Lakewood.....	7.7	5.4
Parma.....	- 4.0	- 1.0
Shaker Heights.....	- 4.0	- 3.2

[2]The average of the four percentages for families entering suburbs from Cleveland is 56.1

	Deviations from Average
Parma.....	16.0
East Cleveland.....	3.9
Lakewood.....	- 4.5
Shaker Heights.....	-16.7

In Shaker Heights the percentage of families coming from other suburbs was only 2.8 points less than the percentage of families coming from Cleveland, but in Parma it was only two-ninths as great, while in East Cleveland it was two-fifths, and in Lakewood slightly less than a third. In the case of families moving into the suburbs from outside the Cleveland Metropolitan District, Lakewood ranks first, with 31.8 per cent, Shaker Heights second, with 24.2 per cent, East Cleveland drops ten points to 14.2 per cent, and Parma had only 10.9 per cent. Thus Parma, which received the highest percentage of its families from Cleveland, received the least part from other suburbs and from outside the District. Shaker Heights, receiving the least part from Cleveland, got the most from other suburbs and the second largest percentage from outside the District. The other two suburbs fell into intermediate positions, East Cleveland approaching Parma's position and Lakewood that of Shaker Heights.

The four suburbs rank the same with respect to the percentage of families leaving each for locations outside the suburb. Parma ranks first in having the largest part of the outflow of families go to Cleveland and fourth in having the least percentage migrating to other suburbs or to locations outside the District. Shaker Heights ranks fourth in having the smallest percentage of its departing families go to Cleveland, first in percentage entering other suburbs, and second in percentage moving outside the District. East Cleveland and Lakewood hold the same relative positions as they did with respect to the inflow of families. In all four suburbs the largest percentages of families came from the city and went to the city; in all except Lakewood the second largest percentage came from other suburbs and went to other suburbs; and the least part came from outside the District and moved to locations outside the District. For Lakewood the order of the last two items is reversed. For Cleveland the much larger part of both the inflow and outflow of families was to and from the suburbs. The inflow from the suburbs is to the inflow from outside the District as 8 to 5; the outflow from each as 4 to 1.

During the three years all suburbs gained in this interchange of families. Cleveland lost 447 families. Further, the suburbs gained from specified locations with two exceptions: Lakewood lost families to other suburbs, and Parma to areas outside the District. Cleveland lost families to the suburbs and gained

them from outside the District. In the three years Cleveland decreased the number of its families by 0.2 per cent while East Cleveland increased its families by 11.0 per cent, Parma by 7.0 per cent, Lakewood by 5.4 per cent, and Shaker Heights by 2.2 per cent. In each suburb the largest part of the gain from interchange of families came from Cleveland: East Cleveland, 91.0 per cent; Parma, 94.5 per cent; Lakewood, 72.8 per cent; and Shaker Heights, only 39.1 per cent. On the other hand, almost a third of the increase in Shaker Heights, though small in number, came from other suburbs. Parma gained one-tenth of her increase from this source and East Cleveland only 1.7 per cent, while Lakewood lost 157 families to other suburbs. A large part of the increase in both Shaker Heights and Lakewood was due to the interchange of families with communities outside the District. A small part of East Cleveland's gain came from this source; and Parma lost families to places outside the District. Thus it is apparent that the largest part of the increase in the number of families in the suburbs is the result of the movement of families from the central city. The diversity in the proportion that each gained from the city is no doubt closely related to the economic level of each suburb.

In comparing the suburbs in respect to the location of census tracts to and from which families moved, two generalizations are possible from the data given in the discussion of the individual suburbs: first, that the largest proportion of families moved to and from those tracts lying adjacent or very close to the suburb; and second, that in general the percentages of those moving to a locality in the city correspond very closely with the percentages of those moving from the same locality, i.e., there is a like proportional exchange of families, not to and from the city as a whole, but to and from specific localities within the city. The means of the differences of the percentages for entering and for leaving the suburbs from and to the 25 groups of census tracts of the city are as follows: Lakewood 0.88, Parma 0.70, Shaker Heights 0.61, and East Cleveland 0.38. Third, when the groups of census tracts are arranged in order of size of percentages, each group falls into approximately the same position for entering as for leaving. The rank correlation coefficient for Lakewood is .96, for East Cleveland .93, for Shaker Heights .88, and for Parma .96.

In analyzing the inter-suburban movements there are found the same general tendencies as in the city-suburb movements. First, families tend to move to suburbs located in the same general area in which the suburb left is located, i.e., families from eastern suburbs tend to move into other eastern suburbs, and families from western suburbs into western suburbs. The tendency seems stronger, however, for those on the east side than for those on the west. From 85 to 90 per cent of the eastern inter-suburban movements were to and from eastern suburbs; from 64 to 76 per cent of western inter-suburban movements were to and from western suburbs. The corollary is that for the Cleveland Metropolitan District the eastern suburbs offer a stronger attraction to west side suburban families than the western suburbs offer to east side suburban families.

Second, the evidence indicates that the modal number of inter-suburban movements is between adjacent suburbs, except in the case of Parma. Approximately a fourth of Lakewood's inflow and outflow of suburban families was from and to Rocky River. No other suburb received or sent half as many families. Half of East Cleveland's inter-suburban movements were with Cleveland Heights. With no other suburb was the exchange more than a fourth as great. From Cleveland Heights to Shaker Heights came 58.9 per cent of its suburban families, and to Cleveland Heights went 54.6 per cent. East Cleveland ranked second, with sending and receiving only 12.9 per cent of the families. Parma, as already stated, is the exception. The exchange of the largest percentages of families was between Parma and Lakewood, which is located several miles northwest of Parma. The Parma-Lakewood movements were more than three times as large as the Parma-Parma Heights movements (Parma Heights is enclosed on three sides by Parma). Even including the movements between Parma and all adjacent suburbs, the number is less than two-thirds of the number of movements between Parma and Lakewood. The situation in regard to Parma makes it necessary to qualify the generalization that in inter-suburban movements the modal number of families moves between adjacent suburbs by the phrase "provided the economic status of the adjoining suburb makes such movement feasible." This point will be discussed later in this summary.

Third, there is some evidence to show that the suburbs to which families are lost by other suburbs tend to lie at a greater

distance from the city. This is particularly true in the cases of Lakewood and of Shaker Heights. Lakewood lost families to Rockly River, Bay Village, and Dover--all lying west of Lakewood. Shaker Heights lost families to University Heights and South Euclid--both located farther east. East Cleveland's greatest loss was to Willoughby Township--a suburban area some miles to the east. Parma offers no evidence one way or another, as the communities to the south are not included in the District.

Fourth, the proportion of families moving between two suburbs tends to approach each other in size except in the case of Parma. The mean of the differences of the percentages of families moving between Parma and other suburbs (3.0) shows there is a sizable difference between the number coming to Parma from specific suburbs and the number entering those suburbs from Parma. The mean of the differences for Lakewood is 0.8, for East Cleveland 1.2, and for Shaker Heights 2.1. Further, the proportions of families entering a suburb from specific suburbs and of families leaving a suburb for the same suburbs tend to hold the same relative position when ranked according to size. The rank correlation coefficients are .97 for East Cleveland and for Parma, .88 for Lakewood, and .79 for Shaker Heights.

In comparing the economic levels of census tracts from and to which families moved between Cleveland and the four suburbs, it is found that the maximum interchange at any one level was at level 7: 27.2 per cent of the families left tracts of that level, and 24.0 per cent moved to tracts of that level. Further, in each suburb from 53 to 64 per cent of the families leaving Cleveland came from levels, 6, 7, and 8, and 51 to 61 per cent moved to those levels.[1] There are minor peaks for three of the suburbs at higher levels for families leaving Cleveland: East Cleveland at level 10 (12.9 per cent), Lakewood at level 11 (21.1

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[1]Percentages of families moving from economic levels 6, 7, and 8 in Cleveland to suburbs are:

Parma.....	64.0
East Cleveland.....	63.5
Lakewood.....	54.6
Shaker Heights.....	53.0

Percentages of families moving to economic levels 6, 7, and 8 in Cleveland from suburbs are:

Parma.....	60.9
East Cleveland.....	60.0
Shaker Heights.....	53.9
Lakewood.....	51.4

per cent), and Shaker Heights at level 12 (20.4 per cent), and at lower levels for Parma at 5 and 6 (21.1 per cent). These secondary peaks for entering Cleveland are at 10 for East Cleveland (17.2 per cent), at 11 for Lakewood (24.4 per cent), at 12 for Shaker Heights (20.6 per cent) and 5-6 for Parma (22.4 per cent). At levels 12-13 (Cleveland has no census tracts rated at the highest level), the interchange of families was negligible for Parma, very small for Lakewood and East Cleveland, and high for Shaker Heights. Two points stand out from these figures: first, there is a tendency for more Cleveland families to move out of medium and lower economic levels into the suburbs than there is for suburban families to move into them; and second, the suburbs show distinct differences in the levels from which and to which the majority of families move. While they come from and go to all levels in Cleveland, it is clear that the interchange in large part is at higher levels for Shaker Heights than for any other suburb and at lower levels for Parma. Lakewood and East Cleveland hold intermediate positions.

In comparing the economic levels of census tracts in the interchange of families with other suburbs, there is found the same clustering of numbers about certain economic levels with a sharp drop on either side of the cluster, but the tendency is not so marked or so consistent as in the interchange of families with Cleveland. The smaller numbers involved help to account for this difference. For Shaker Heights, economic level 13 stands out predominantly, 44.2 per cent of other suburban families moving from that level and 42.8 per cent of Shaker Heights families moving to that level. No families were interchanged at any level less than 4, and only 4.0 per cent came from levels under 7, and 5.0 per cent went to such levels. Lakewood has two concentration points: from levels 7, 8, 9, 10 moved 51.4 per cent and to those levels moved 58.6 per cent; from level 13 moved 24.0 per cent and to 13 went 26.0 per cent. East Cleveland has one cluster of three levels--11, 12, and 13, from which 55.5 per cent of its suburban families moved and to which went 58.6 per cent. Parma has three concentration points: from 8, 9, and 10 moved 40.8 per cent of its incoming families and to 8, 9, and 10 went 37.3 per cent; from level 5 entered 13 per cent and from level 5 left 15.1 per cent; from level 12 came 11.5 per cent and to that level went 10.7 per cent. Two generalizations appear from these data:

first, that the interchange of families between the suburbs is at higher economic levels than the interchange of families between Cleveland and the suburbs; and second, that there is no uniformity among the suburbs themselves. Again Shaker Heights' interchange is at higher levels than is true of any of the other suburbs, and again Parma ranks fourth, interchanging the least number of families at the higher levels and the most at the lower. East Cleveland ranks second and Lakewood third, their positions reversed from those in the city-suburban movements. No doubt East Cleveland's eastern position and its location adjoining Cleveland Heights accounts for this change in rank.

In general, as in the interchange of families between geographic locations, the movements to specific economic levels in the city-suburban, inter-suburban, and intra-suburban interchange of families correspond in proportion and in rank with the move-

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[1]Mean of differences in percentages of families moving to and from specific economic levels:

City-Suburban Movements

Between Cleveland and Lakewood	
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland....	1.3
To and from specific economic levels in Lakewood.....	0.4
Between Cleveland and East Cleveland	
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland....	1.4
To and from specific economic levels in East Cleveland	0.5
Between Cleveland and Shaker Heights	
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland....	0.9
To and from specific economic levels in Shaker Heights (only two pairs of percentages)	3.2
Between Cleveland and Parma	
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland....	1.4
To and from specific economic levels in Parma.....	1.0

Inter-Suburban Movements

Between Lakewood and Other Suburbs	
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs	1.1
To and from specific economic levels in Lakewood.....	0.6
Between East Cleveland and Other Suburbs	
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs	1.4
To and from specific economic levels in East Cleveland	2.0
Between Shaker Heights and Other Suburbs	
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs	1.5
To and from specific economic levels in Shaker Heights (Only two pairs of percentages)	0.3

Intra-Suburb Movement

From and to specific economic levels in Lakewood.....	0.8
From and to specific economic levels in East Cleveland.	0.3
From and to specific economic levels in Shaker Heights.	1.8
From and to specific economic levels in Parma.....	0.8

ments from those levels.[1]

For all the suburbs, moving to the suburb from Cleveland meant raising of economic level for more than half of the families and moving from the suburb to Cleveland meant the lowering of level in about the same proportion.[2] For Shaker Heights practically all families raised their status by taking up residence in that suburb and practically all lowered their status by moving into Cleveland. Lakewood ranks second, with four-fifths of all families raising their level by coming into that suburb and more than three-fourths lowering theirs by going out. East Cleveland ranks third,

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[1]Rank correlation coefficients of paired percentages of family movements to and from specific economic levels:

City-Suburban Movements

Between Cleveland and Lakewood
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland..... 96
To and from specific economic levels in Lakewood..... 94

Between Cleveland and East Cleveland
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland..... 93
To and from specific economic levels in East Cleveland.... 97

Between Cleveland and Shaker Heights
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland..... 88
To and from specific economic levels in Shaker Heights.... 96

Between Cleveland and Parma
From and to specific economic levels in Cleveland..... 96
To and from specific economic levels in Parma..... 99

Inter-Suburban Movements

Between Lakewood and Other Suburbs
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs..... 96
To and from specific economic levels in Lakewood..... 98

Between East Cleveland and Other Suburbs
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs..... 90
To and from specific economic levels in East Cleveland...1.00

Between Shaker Heights and Other Suburbs
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs..... 90
To and from specific economic levels in Shaker Heights....1.00

Between Parma and Other Suburbs
From and to specific economic levels in other suburbs..... 73
To and from specific economic levels in Parma..... 80

[2]Not quite half of Parma's families lowered their economic level.

with 73.5 per cent raising status by the in-movement and 72.3 per cent lowering it by the out-movement. Parma ranks fourth. Little more than half of the families coming from Cleveland raised their level, while a fourth lowered theirs. By leaving Parma, a little less than half lowered status and three-tenths raised theirs.

In the inter-suburban movement the suburbs fall into two groups. Movement into Shaker Heights and Lakewood meant raising of status for the majority of families, and movement into East Cleveland and Parma meant the lowering of status. The reverse is true of the majority of families moving to other suburbs from Shaker Heights and Lakewood.

While data thus far presented show something of the quantity of family movements in the four suburbs,their direction, and their meaning in terms of raising or lowering of economic status, they do not tell whether this movement is made up of frequent changes on the part of a smaller proportion of families or fewer changes by a larger proportion. Data on the duration of occupancy throw some light on this question. Families who have occupied the same dwelling ten years or longer evidently rarely move, while it seems safe to say that most of the families occupying their dwellings for less than a year move more or less frequently. Hence we are assuming that (1) long duration of occupancy indicates rare change of dwelling and short duration of occupancy frequent change; (2) the more families of long residence, the greater the tendency toward stability. These two factors should be considered in evaluating the stability or instability of a community. Nor should the age of the community be overlooked when considering the permanency of families. Shaker Heights and Parma are roughly 15 years old, but East Cleveland and Lakewood 45. Before 1920 the former were rural areas comparable to Lakewood and East Cleveland in 1890. Hence the families occupying the same house over 15 years will be few indeed.

The four suburbs divide themselves into two groups on duration of occupancy. The two older suburbs, Lakewood and East Cleveland, approach Cleveland in their distribution of families; the two younger suburbs, Shaker Heights and Parma, show marked differences from Cleveland. The first group has much higher percentages both of families occupying their dwellings less than a year (especially East Cleveland) and those remaining in the same place for ten years or more. The latter difference is not so surprising when the respective ages of the two groups are considered. Although Shaker Heights and Parma have fewer families living less than a

year in one dwelling, it cannot be expected that they would have a large proportion in the ten year and longer class; but nearly a third of the families in each have occupied their houses from five to ten years, an indication of a tendency toward permanency. The medians confirm this statement.

Data on the four suburbs substantiate the generalizations that families owning their homes are much more permanent than those who rent; that families living in single-family houses stay longer than those in multiple houses; that those residing in apartments stay the shortest periods; and that those who pay $50.00 or more rent a month remain longer than those who pay less.

The significance of family migration among the four suburbs and between them and the city may be indicated as follows:

1. Since families are moving to and from all parts within the metropolitan area and to and from the area itself in sizable numbers, no section is quescent; all communities are in a greater or lesser state of flux; all have to adjust to the coming of new families and the leaving of old.
2. While movement of families is greater outward from the central city than inward toward the center, the inward movement is important as an index to the process of selective migration in the suburban trend. Families unable to accommodate to suburban ways of living, for one reason or another, are drawn back into the city.
3. Since the majority of families move comparatively short distances, either to another location within the same census tracts or across municipal boundaries, the movement of families both outward from the center and back is a step-by-step process.
4. The like proportional interchange of families between geographic locations and between economic levels may be due to chance, but its consistency suggests that there may be an element of balance in the selective process.
5. The selective process in family migration operates to bring about homogeneity in economic status within each suburb but competition with other forces allows only a greater or lesser degree of realization, never complete homogeneity.
6. The stability of the suburb as indicated by quantity of family movements depends upon the ratio of permanent families (single-family dwellings as an index) to impermanent families (medium-priced apartment units as an index). Where the ratio of permanent families to impermanent ones is large, there is found a low index of mobility, indicating a high degree of suburban stability; where the ratio is small, there is found a high index of mobility, indicating a low degree of suburban stability.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN FOUR SUBURBS: THEIR SCHOOLS

The segmental character of the residential suburb comes again into evidence when the major social institutions pass in review. The basic economic institutions are lacking; the family, as indicated earlier, takes a dominant position and most of the other institutions develop to serve the needs and cultural and recreational interests of the family and its members as they arise. Recreational institutions serving the wider metropolitan community gravitate to the suburbs where land is available for club houses, golf courses, and polo fields. These organizations are important as a factor in integrating the suburb into the larger community but are not very important in the integration of the suburb itself. The residential suburb never develops the full coterie of social institutions necessary to make it self-sustaining as does the town of comparable size. If it did, it would cease to be a residential suburb. Since there is a deficiency in types of social institutions, those types found are apt to be given a disproportionate amount of attention. This results in a lack of balance in suburban life. The three types of institutions of widest community participation and interest are the educational, religious, and voluntary associations. In performing their essential and auxiliary functions and in their interrelationships, they bring about integration as well as complexity in suburban community life.

While these organizational forms are strong in all the suburbs, one or the other occupies a more commanding position in one suburb than in another. For example, the institutions for education hold a dominant position in all four suburbs, but the degree varies among them. Again, it may be said that while their structure and primary function is the same for each type, they present distinctive features within the general framework and a difference in their interpretation of scope of function. These differences in position, in internal structure, and in scope of function have a consistency within the form itself and within the totality of

community life. Each institution gets its status and its distinctive characteristics from the character of the suburb and in turn helps to mold and perpetuate that character. In this chapter the major educational institution, the public school, will be discussed. In the two following chapters the church and the voluntary associations will be treated.

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These four communities, all suburbs of the same city, all subject to the same pressures of the newer developments in psychology and teaching methods, and of enlarging the content of the program and services offered by the school have responded in different ways. In Shaker Heights is found the greatest response to the newer concepts of psychology and in teaching methods in its progressive education program. The cultural content of the program has been extended the farthest, and it has taken over more of the functions of the home in its health education, in supervision of play, in the training in manners, and in the use of leisure time. It has been able to do these things because the community could undertake them financially and because of its standards, values, and interests. Their children must be educated to carry on at their financial and cultural level in a changing social order. Lakewood has modified its traditional academic program to give much greater attention to the individual child and to enlarge its program to the end that the child may more readily adapt himself to his social environment. It has, like Shaker Heights, taken over increasingly the functions of the home, but unlike Shaker Heights has yielded some to the pressure to prepare young people for work. However, its program does not deviate so much from the older type of school as does that of Shaker Heights. Each Cleveland, undoubtedly under greater pressure from economic trends than Lakewood to modify its program, has tenaciously held to its traditional values in education, emphasizing the acquisition of information and preparation for college rather than the pre-vocational or vocational training, although it has yielded somewhat in this respect. Apparently it has not assumed as many home functions as has Lakewood, but more social welfare functions on the whole. Its aims are preparation for citizenship and cultural training. Probably within the next few years this program will be further changed to incorporate

more direct training for industry or business, with less stress on the academic as the Shaw High School tradition becomes weaker.

Parma has modified its program directly and straightforwardly under the economic pressure of the times to prepare its young people for jobs. Perhaps in none of the four suburbs is the need greater for the schools to take on home and social welfare functions, but the lack of awareness of what the schools might do and the almost tragic inadequacy of school funds has made the incorporation of these functions into the school program inadvisable if not impossible to date.

In general, then, there is embodied in the school system the standards and values of the community. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the schools is the way they take form from the community of which they are a part. In all four suburbs there is the same general pattern, shaped by the development of public education in this country, and sustained by custom and law, but within this pattern appear differences which give more or less distinction to each school system. These distinctive features are the imprint of the suburb of which they are an intimate part and a very important social institution.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE FOUR SUBURBS: THEIR CHURCHES

In residential suburbs which have had their origin in rural communities, the church from the earliest days has been a strong integrating influence. When only a few families had become settlers, they banded together to conduct religious services and to hire a teacher for their children. Within a short period a one-room building served as a school house and church. It was common for families of various denominations to support the church. Increases in churches depended upon growth of population. When many families came into the rural village, changing it into a suburb of the city, there appeared new churches. The old established churches also welcomed new families moving in and served in helping to adjust them to the community. New churches were frequently the result of the division of membership of old churches along denominational lines as well as the rise of independent congregations among the newcomers.

In the suburb which had its origin as a suburb, the church has not always been a strong integrating factor in the early years of its existence and may never be. Ready access to the city churches to which families belonged before moving, or to churches of like denominations in adjoining suburbs, may postpone or even prevent the formation of some denominational congregations in a suburb. Sometimes, it is true, a church will move from the city to the suburb because many of its families have located there and other suburban families are willing to join its ranks. The church, however, may even act as a deterrent to integration within a residential suburb if a large proportion of its families hold membership with congregations outside the suburb. In general, the families in a residential suburb are never so completely identified with the churches in their own community as they are with its schools. While the church is one of the major social institutions in a residential suburb, like the suburb as a whole it is segmental

in character, never serving all church members in its suburb, as will be seen in the analysis of the church in the four suburbs which follows.

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Comparison of the Churches in Four Suburbs

Church organization in these four suburbs presents two distinct stages in the developmental process. In the two older, larger, slower-growing suburbs of Lakewood and East Cleveland, church organization has passed the stage of rapid denominational expansion. Of the 10 largest denominations in United States,[1] 9 have now one or more churches in Lakewood and in all but one instance they have been established for more than twelve years. In East Cleveland, a much smaller suburb than Lakewood, 7 of the 10 major denominations had been established when the 1926 religious census was taken, and none in this category have been added since. In both these suburbs the new religious groups added in recent years tend to be those regarded as sects, such as the Spiritualists, Nazarenes, and Seventh Day Adventists. It seems, therefore, that church organization has now reached the stage of the rise of the smaller denominations and of sectarian groups, of expansion or contraction of established denominations--expansion by internal reorganization to meet changing community needs; contraction by adhering too rigidly to traditional doctrines and practices. The two smaller fast-growing suburbs, Shaker Heights and Parma, are in the process of establishing the major denominations. There are 5 represented in Shaker Heights and they include all the 8 congregations; 4 have been established since 1927. In Parma there are 4 of the major denominations with 10 congregations. Most of these churches are likewise of more recent establishment. Since 1926 Shaker Heights has built or partially built 6 new churches; Parma 8; Shaker Heights has no congregations that can be classed as sects; Parma has one mission church which may be so designated. The continued growth in the number of denominations in the two smaller suburbs will depend upon the increase in population and upon the accessibility in other suburbs or in Cleveland of churches of denominations now not represented.

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[1]The ten religious denominations having more than 750,000 members in the United States (1934) are: Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Jewish, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, Congregational, Eastern Orthodox, Evangelical, and Reformed (in order of size). Missionary Review, September, 1937, p. 408.

The ratio of churches to population[1] varies appreciably from suburb to suburb. The average number of people per church is highest in Shaker Heights and lowest in Parma, with East Cleveland and Lakewood approaching closer to Shaker Heights than to Parma and yet each showing marked differences from the other, and each has a lower ratio than Cleveland. The ratios for Lakewood and East Cleveland are closer to each other than either is to that of Shaker Heights. Factors that enter into determining the number of congregations in a suburb are apparently the developmental age of the suburb, the rate of population growth, its location with reference to other communities having well advanced church organization, and its degree of urbanization. The older suburbs which have passed the period of rapid expansion will tend to have more churches relative to population than the younger suburbs. In the younger rapidly growing suburb the growth in churches will tend to be slower than the growth in population. Well established churches readily accessible in adjacent communities will tend to prevent new congregations from being formed in the newer suburbs. A suburb where the population is becoming more heterogeneous and where use of land is changing from private houses to apartments and from residential to industrial occupations, that is, where the suburb is becoming less suburban in character and more urban, tends to have a lower ratio of churches to population. The suburb that has a low density of population, is semi-rural in character, and merges with a rural area tends to have a higher ratio of churches to population. Shaker Heights, with the least number of churches in proportion to population (1 to 2,812 people) is a young suburb, rapidly growing,[2] and lies adjacent to communi-

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[1]Ratio of churches to population:

	1937	1926
Cleveland	1 to 2,054	No figures
Lakewood	1 to 2,480	1 to 2,050
East Cleveland	1 to 2,631	1 to 3,471
Shaker Heights	1 to 2,812	No figures
Parma	1 to 1,209	No figures

[2]The estimated increase in the population of the four suburbs from 1930 to 1937 is as follows:

Lakewood	5.0 per cent
East Cleveland	6.0 per cent
Shaker Heights	26.0 per cent
Parma	21.0 per cent

H. W. Green, Real Property Inventory of the Cleveland Metropolitan District and Cuyahoga County, Report No. 8 (Cleveland, 1937), p. 1.

ties with well established denominations. No doubt there would be at least Catholic and Presbyterian churches in this suburb were it not for their accessibility in adjacent communities. East Cleveland, ranking next with 1 church to 2,631 people, older, slower-growing, shows the influences of the internal changes that are going on in this suburb, changes indicating increasing urbanization. While East Cleveland has markedly increased the ratio of churches to population from that of 1926, the reasons for that increase only add evidence to the nature of the changes taking place in this suburb. Of 5 new denominations added since 1926, 4 may be classed as sects. The addition of a second Roman Catholic church likewise points to the change in composition of population.

Lakewood, ranking third (1 church to 2,450 people) represents a slow growing suburb which had a period of rapidly expanding church organization previous to 1926. Since then there has been little growth in the number of congregations; two sects have been added, two denominations have reduced their number of congregations by one each; there has been no increase in total number of churches in eleven years. Moreover, in its expansion period Lakewood did not have established churches of the major denominations as accessible as Shaker Heights now has. It was therefore necessary that it provide the services of these religious groups itself. When once practically all of the major denominations as well as some of the minor ones were established, most new people coming into the community could find the denomination which they preferred. The fact that in 1926 Lakewood already had a very wide range of denominations seems to explain the higher ratio of churche to population in 1926 than in 1937. This change does not necessarily indicate less total church membership but larger membership in individual churches.

Parma ranks highest in proportion of churches to people. Its ratio of 1 church to 1,209 people is very high for a suburb. Parma is growing rather rapidly and now presents a stage of church development comparable to Lakewood's about 1910, when Lakewood had 1 church to about 1,300 people and when several of its churches were still missions. Parma may be further compared with both Lakewood and East Cleveland in that the modern Parma is the outgrowth of a rural community where a few denominations were already established when rapid expansion began. Judging from those two

suburbs in 1900 when Lakewood had 1 church to 671 people and East Cleveland 1 to 460 people, it may be assumed that the ratio of 1 church to 1,209 people represents a decrease from the time Parma's rapid population growth began in the twenties and that this decrease will continue as more people move into Parma.

The data on membership of churches in the four suburbs are not complete. As the United States Census of Religious Bodies of 1926 does not include Shaker Heights and Parma as separate communities, no data are available on growth of membership for those two suburbs. The returns from questionnaires and the statistics in denominational yearbooks do not give information on every church now found in the four suburbs. However, sufficient data have been secured to give a fairly accurate account of church membership. It will be noted that, in the main, figures are lacking for the various sects. Since these undoubtedly have small congregations, the averages are higher than they would be if these were included. This is particularly true of Lakewood and East Cleveland.

The average membership in 1937-38 for 9 denominations with 20 churches in Lakewood was 1,325; for 8 denominations with 12 churches in East Cleveland, 1,275; for 5 denominations[1] with 6 churches in Shaker Heights, 759; and for 5 denominations with 8 churches in Parma, 308. In the larger and old established suburbs the average membership was much higher than in the smaller and younger suburbs. The average membership in Parma approximates, at the present time, more nearly that of a rural community than that of a suburban one. Undoubtedly the average membership in both Shaker Heights and Parma will increase more rapidly in the next decade than it will in Lakewood and East Cleveland. Membership has been increasing faster in Lakewood than in East Cleveland. From 1926 to 1938, average membership in the denominations for which data were available at both periods showed an increase of 40.8 per cent in Lakewood and 26.0 per cent in East Cleveland.

While the average membership in churches in the two suburbs has increased, not all denominations have increased. Some show about the same number of members and others show fewer. Data indicate that membership in Catholic churches in these two suburbs is increasing faster than in Protestant churches, and faster in

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[1]The community church is considered as Congregational.

East Cleveland than in Lakewood. Total membership in East Cleveland Catholic churches increased 83.7 per cent from 1926 to 1938; in Lakewood 4 of the 5 churches showed an increase of 23.6 per cent over the total for all Catholic churches in 1926. Total membership in all 5 churches would show a larger percentage increase but not so great as in East Cleveland.

In Lakewood 7 Protestant denominations for which there are membership data for 1926 and 1937-38 show an increase in total membership of 4.3 per cent. If the members in the Disciples denomination are included in the 1937-38 figures, the increase in Protestant membership becomes 12.7 per cent. This is a truer figure but still does not include 7 denominations, 4 of which are sects whose increase probably would not affect the percentage increase appreciably. The other three (Baptist, Christian Scientist, and Eastern Orthodox) probably would. When all the factors are considered, however, it is pretty clear that the Catholic churches in Lakewood are increasing their total membership faster than the Protestant. In East Cleveland the 6 Protestant denominations for which there are comparable data in the two periods show a decrease in total membership of 1.8 per cent. If the membership figures for one Protestant denomination added since 1926 are included, the change in total Protestant membership shows an increase of 2.7 per cent. For the four sects established since 1926, there are no membership data. The total membership of these four sects would increase more than the 2.7 per cent but how much is unknown. Even with these unknown figures, it seems safe to state that membership in Catholic churches is growing much faster than Protestant in East Cleveland and that Protestant membership in Lakewood is increasing somewhat faster than that in East Cleveland.

From the questionnaire of 1934 the percentage of the adult population of Lakewood belonging to some church was 73.0; of East Cleveland, 74.2; of Shaker Heights, 68.4; and of Parma, 72.1. From more than two-thirds to three-fourths of the adults in the four suburbs are affiliated with some church. Furthermore, the disparity between the lowest percentage in Shaker Heights and the highest in Lakewood is less than six points. These suburbs vary widely, however, as to the place of affiliation.[1] Lakewood churches claim

[1] Place of church affiliation.

	Suburb	Cleveland	Other Suburb
Lakewood.....	75.0	22.8	2.2
East Cleveland	57.7	38.6	3.7
Shaker Heights	39.2	37.8	22.8
Parma.....	55.0	43.0	2.0

the highest percentage of memberships of Lakewood residents; only about a fourth belong to churches outside this suburb. A little more than two-thirds of East Cleveland church members are affiliated with churches in their own suburb. For Parma somewhat more than half have their memberships in that suburb's churches, and for Shaker Heights two-fifths belong to Shaker Heights churches. The great majority of suburban residents who have memberships outside their own suburb hold them in Cleveland churches. Only Shaker Heights residents have a high percentage of memberships in churches in other suburbs. This is no doubt due to its location. A number of the major denominations were already established in the adjacent suburb of Cleveland Heights when Shaker Heights began its development. While East Cleveland likewise lies adjacent to this same suburb, it had its own churches before Cleveland Heights developed. Lakewood and Parma have no neighboring suburbs with as wide a range of denominations as they themselves have.

In the Protestant churches in these four suburbs attendance at Sunday morning devotional service seems to vary inversely, with one exception, with the average size.[1] Lakewood, with the highest average membership, has the lowest percentage of average attendance. Parma, with the lowest average membership, has the highest percentage of attendance--more than twice that of Lakewood. Parma's attendance approaches more nearly that of rural churches (86 per cent), as found in C. R. Hoffer's study,[2] than it does that of any of the other three suburbs. Shaker Heights, ranking second in membership, also ranks second in percentage of attendance, and East Cleveland ranks third in both respects. Average membership in its Protestant church is 29 less than the average for Shaker Heights, and its percentage of attendance is 1.4 points less. These are not very significant differences, Moreover, new

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[1] Average number of members and percentage of attendance in Protestant churches:

Suburb	Number of Churches	Average Number of Members	Per Cent of Attendance
Lakewood.....	11	903	30.1
East Cleveland..	7	615	36.1
Shaker Heights..	6	644	38.1
Parma.....	6	227	69.6

[2] C. R. Hoffer, "A Study of 47 Churches in Rural Communities," Activities of Churches in Town-Country Communities, Michigan State College Bulletin (1932).

churches are apt to command a greater loyalty from the people who establish them than do the older churches where members had no part in the struggle of starting a new church. The fact that East Cleveland's average membership is smaller than either that of Lakewood or Shaker Heights and that the percentage of attendance is less than that of the latter suburb seems to point to a decreasing Protestant strength in that suburb. This is understandable in the light of the population changes going on in East Cleveland. The foreign-born groups who have been gradually moving into East Cleveland are those whose religion is predominantly Catholic.

Attendance at Sunday School[1] is greater in every suburb than that at church and varies inversely with the average number of members. East Cleveland, with the highest average number of members, has the lowest percentage of attendance, and Parma, with the lowest average number of members, has the highest percentage of attendance. Lakewood ranks second in average membership and third in percentage of attendance; Shaker Heights ranks third and second respectively.

If active attendance is a more significant measure of the role of the church in a community than membership, as is generally considered, then the Protestant churches as a whole in the three suburbs are not making a very strong appeal through their religious programs. This does not seem to be true in semi-rural Parma, where congregations are small but attendance is high. That there is some community interest in the churches--greater in Lakewood, at least, than the active attendance would indicate--is apparent from the publicity given churches in the suburban papers. While Lakewood has the lowest percentage of attendance, its churches receive the largest amount of front page space in its two weeklies. Furthermore, frequent items appear elsewhere in its papers. Parma, ranking highest in active attendance, ranks second in front page

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[1]The average number of members in Protestant Sunday Schools and the percentage of attendance, as indicated in questionnaires:

Suburb	Number of Sunday Schools	Average Number of Members	Per Cent of Attendance
East Cleveland	6	469	58.0
Lakewood.....	10	338	63.4
Shaker Heights	5	292	65.1
Parma.....	6	227	71.5

space given church items in its weekly. Furthermore, other space is regularly filled by items of church activities. The Shaker Heights and East Cleveland weeklies give very little front page space to church news, but in the society column of the Shaker Heights paper are printed items of social and educational events. The East Cleveland weekly rarely allows any inside space for this type of item. On the assumption that newspapers print what they think people are sufficiently interested to read, it may be stated that all the suburbs show some interest in the churches, Lakewood and Parma much more than the other two; and that interest is more in the extra-religious activities than in the religious. In Parma more of the religious aspects of the church appear than in any other suburb, and Lakewood ranks second. Since the community as a whole shows a greater interest in the extra-religious program of the church than the religious, it is not surprising to find fewest items concerning the church in the East Cleveland paper. As pointed out earlier, the Protestant churches there seem to be yielding their leisure time program to other organizations. The growth of Catholicism may also be a factor, since it is in Protestant churches that the widest program of extra-religious activities is found.

The changing emphasis of church programs in Protestant churches, from the strictly religious to a religious plus an extra-religious, is manifested in the reduction of traditional religious services. The only services now common to all are the Sunday morning devotional hour and the Sunday School. The Sunday evening devotional service has almost entirely disappeared. None of the 5 churches reporting from Parma or the 6 from Shaker Heights retains that service, 1 of the 7 from East Cleveland and 2 of the 13 from Lakewood do.[1] The Sunday evening young people's meeting is retained

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[1]Services in Protestant churches as indicated in church questionnaires:

Suburb	Number of Churches	Sunday Evening	Sunday Evening Young People's	Mid-Week
Lakewood.....	12	2	2	9[a]
East Cleveland	7	1	6	4
Shaker Heights	6	..	6	3
Parma.....	5	..	3	3[b]

[a]Three in Lent only.

[b]One in Lent only.

to a much greater extent in all suburbs but its character is no longer that of a religious service only. Supper is now a common part of this meeting, followed by a religious, educational, or a social program. Some retain a brief period of devotion. In all suburbs about half of the churches still have a regular mid-week service, and a few, chiefly the Lutheran congregations, have such service alone during Lent. But even the regular mid-week service has changed in character. It frequently takes the form of a lecture or forum on some topic of current interest. This is particularly true in Lakewood and Shaker Heights.

The changing type of services offered by the suburban churches seems to be correlated with a growing importance of religious education. Religious education is the term used, according to Miss McInerny, to define "the church's vision of adult education."[1] Its aims are "to facilitate an 'adjustment of the individual to the everyday world' and to achieve a 'maturity of religious citizenship for young and old.'"[2] As far as can be determined from the data, a few churches in these four suburbs now have a formal religious education program and others have introduced it to some extent. In a small number of the larger and wealthier churches of Lakewood and of Shaker Heights are found assistant pastors whose duty it is to carry on the work in religious education. Ministers of some of the other churches have the assistance of laymen in a less extensive program. Most of the Protestant denominations in these two suburbs are putting a greater or lesser emphasis upon religious education, including the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Disciples, Baptist, and Reformed-Evangelical. While at least one Lutheran church has given considerable recognition to this work, the Lutheran denominations as a whole and the Protestant Episcopal have held more closely to an

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[1]She writes of the program of the Westchester (New York) County suburbs: "Through religious education the churches are endeavoring to supplement what the schools are doing for the young and what adult education councils are doing for the adult members of their communities. With great unanimity the leaders of religious education, both in suburbs and elsewhere, agree that religious education must be sharply distinguished from 'education in religion, the pursuit of a course of study in the Bible, in biblical doctrines, in missions, or in comparative religions.' It purports instead to bring 'religious experience to bear upon the ordinary and extra-ordinary situations of life.'" Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerny, op. cit., p. 206.

[2]Ibid., p. 205.

orthodox religious program in their educational work. Apparently very few of the churches in either East Cleveland or Parma are doing very much in the field of religious education. In both communities the educational activities of the church consist more largely of the study of the Bible and of missions.

In all the suburbs the churches carry on more or less extensive social and recreational activities. These activities are sponsored largely by the clubs. More than half of the church organizations have social and recreational activities as their main or one of their main purposes for existence. This number varies from 75.7 per cent in Lakewood to 54.8 per cent in East Cleveland,[1] with Parma ranking second after Lakewood, and Shaker Heights third. Moreover, the social and recreational interest ranks first in these organizations in all suburbs except East Cleveland, where it ranks after the religious. This bears out what has been pointed out earlier, that in East Cleveland other organizations are assuming a more important role in providing social and recreational activities, but it also indicates that the churches in East Cleveland still sponsor a social program although it may not be so extensive as those found in other suburbs. The social and recreational activities of church clubs are like those of the other clubs in each suburb. The type of program varies not so much from suburb to suburb as it does between sex and age groups making up the clubs. The men's groups tend to support athletic activities; the women's groups card parties, luncheons, teas and dinners, musical and dramatic entertainments; and the young people's mixed groups suppers, dancing, sports, games, and dramatics. In order to provide social and recreational activities for boys and girls, the churches in

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[1] As indicated in church questionnaires, the interests of church organizations are as follows:

Suburb	Number of Churches	Number of Organizations	Organizations in Which Specific Type of Interest is the Main or One of the Main Interests		
			Religious	Educational	Social or Recreational
			Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Lakewood.....	14	107	68.1	56.1	75.7
East Cleveland	9	82	63.5	48.8	54.8
Shaker Heights	6	39	48.7	61.5	61.5
Parma.....	7	45	44.6	48.8	71.1

all four suburbs are cooperating with the Boy and Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls Association.

In their total organizational program the churches in these four suburbs are providing interest groups for all ages of both sexes. Not all the churches have a complete "institutional" program, nor is an "institutional" program limited to the larger, wealthy churches alone, although they tend to have the most to offer. Lakewood and Shaker Heights have more churches that are trying to serve the community through a "seven-day-a-week" program than are found in East Cleveland or Parma. The programs of the various churches seem to depend primarily upon the concept of function pervading the various denominations rather than upon local conditions. If the denomination is conservative, that is, if it considers its essential purpose to influence people to accept its traditional doctrines, then its organizational program is limited to a few groups most of which have a religious objective. If the denomination is liberal, that is, if it interprets its traditional creeds and practices to include giving "a spiritual or ethical meaning to recreation,"[1] then as broad a program of extra-religious activities is provided as is feasible. Factors that enter in to determine the nature and extent of that program are size of congregations, interests and needs of members, physical facilities, financial resources, and community competition. One liberal denomination with churches in three suburbs has one church organization to 18 church members in Parma, to 60 church members in Lakewood, and to 122 members in East Cleveland. In Parma it is apparently the need that determines the large ratio. One member of the church stated that the church provided the entire social and recreational life of many of its members. The Lakewood church represents one where the need is not so great as in Parma but where interest, physical facilities, and financial resources make possible a very extensive program. This very large congregation has five times as many organizations as the Parma church. It is known that the East Cleveland church once offered a much wider program but yielded some of its activities to the schools.

An aspect of the church which makes the churches of the four suburbs stand out clearly from one another is the cost of

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[1] David R. Piper, Community Churches (Chicago: Willett, Clark, and Colby, 1928), p. 87.

their buildings. From 1926 to 1936 Shaker Heights built five new churches at an average cost of $101,600; Lakewood twelve at an average cost of $61,583; East Cleveland three at an average cost of $29,333; and Parma eight at an average cost of $21,885.[1] In the cost of the churches each suburb reflects its economic status.

In conclusion it may be said that church organization in each suburb is a resultant of processes common to all religious bodies, of denominational trends, and of conditions specific for each suburb.

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[1]Green, Real Property Inventory of Cleveland Metropolitan Region, Report No. 6 (Cleveland, 1936), pp. 97, 99, 100, 109.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE FOUR SUBURBS: VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The voluntary association is a collectivity entered into without compulsion with the purpose of gaining some advantage not otherwise attainable, the desired objective to be secured by rational cooperation. In our society where the right of free association is in the mores and its practice in the folkways, individuals are in the constant process of creating their own associative vehicles through which they may express some interest or realize some need. Voluntary associations in all stages of organization and with the widest variety of objectives are to be found in every urban center. They may be local in character, organized around some local problem or interest, or they may be organized over a much wider geographical area, with a purpose national and international in scope. They may spring up spontaneously on a wave of enthusiasm and die out quickly as the wave of enthusiasm recedes; they may continue to exist and pass through the various stages leading to the fully developed institution; they may cease to function at any stage short of the institutional. The number and type of voluntary associations varies from locality to locality, depending on the character of the locality. A community with a heterogeneous population is apt to have a greater variety of types than a more homogeneous community, although the number may not vary appreciably; a wealthier community is apt to have a greater number than a poorer one. The residential suburb is a fertile field for voluntary associations providing leisure time activities; it is lacking in those growing out of economic relationships. How voluntary associations may vary within the residential suburb itself becomes evident from studying them in the four suburbs.

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Comparison of the Suburbs

The voluntary associations in the four suburbs present a complicated picture of relationships spreading across each community and from one community to another. These associations give more insight into the character of the suburb than do the traditionally established institutions. Out of innumerable possibilities in form and purpose for such organizations, individuals with common interests initiate or select that type which they consider will secure for them the satisfaction of their interests. While a certain amount of compulsion may enter in to determine choice in these organizations, on the whole that compulsion is not so great as the law in the political and educational institutions or of family status in religious institutions.

Each suburb has a large number of voluntary associations, formal and informal, and each has in general the same types, that is, each has its civic, philanthropic, cultural, recreational, patriotic, political, and fraternal organizations. Each suburb has its women's clubs, its men's clubs, and a few mixed clubs. The segregation of membership along sex lines in these four suburbs bears out Lundberg's statement that "sex is a highly differentiating factor in leisure time interests."[1] The primary interest of the women's clubs are cultural and philanthropic; the primary interests of the men's groups are recreational (athletics and sports). Both give attention to civic interests, the men's groups more than the women's. Likewise in all suburbs, the patriotic, fraternal, and political associations are essentially men's groups; women appear in organizations auxiliary to the men's. The mixed groups found in all suburbs are the Parent-Teacher Associations and the amateur theatrical societies. The Parent-Teacher Associations are, however, so largely made up of women and are so dominated by women that they may be considered women's groups. Social functions have a conspicuous place in the programs of all clubs, men's and women's. Each suburb has a certain proportion of its people, varying from suburb to suburb, who are not identified with any voluntary association and a small minority who be-

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[1]Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerny, op. cit., p. 145.

long to many. In each a much higher percentage of men than of women have all their club affiliations in Cleveland organizations; and a much higher percentage of women than of men have theirs alone in the suburb.

The suburbs differ from each other in the diversity of organizations found within the general types, in the preference given certain types, in the relative strength of men's and women's organizations, in the proportion of groups all of whose members live in the suburb, in the degree of community participation, and in the nature of the programs. These variations seem closely associated with the size of the suburb, the stability of population, and the economic level. Of these, economic level is apparently a much more determining factor than either of the other two. Comprehended in the term "economic level" as related to voluntary associations either positively or negatively, are financial resources, education, leisure, interests, and prestige. Size as a factor enters into diversity of groups and diversity in turn influences local participation. Population stability promotes the localization of membership since the movement of families out of the suburb tends to bring about inter-community memberships in local groups. People are apt to retain, at least for a time, the club affiliations they made in the community from which they moved. Economic level is the major factor in determining the relative strength of men's and women's groups, the preference given to certain types, the degree of community participation, and the nature of the programs.

In Lakewood are found the greatest diversity of voluntary associations, the largest proportion of people (43.0 per cent according to the sample) who belong to local associations only, and the largest number of groups which have all their members living in the suburbs. East Cleveland ranks second to diversity and in proportion of people belonging to local associations only (34.7 per cent). Lakewood is the largest suburb and East Cleveland is next in size. Their very numbers allow for the support of many kinds of associations. After a wide range has been established, it becomes less necessary for residents to turn to groups outside the suburb for a particular kind of club with which they wish to be affiliated. The type of association found in the larger suburbs and not found in the smaller ones is the branch of a national organization such as the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the

Business and Professional Woman's Club (in Lakewood only). Only in these two suburbs has the woman's club reached the maturity that makes it the strongest woman's club in number of members, scope of activities, and in community influence. In the matter of groups with only local members, East Cleveland does not follow Lakewood. There the factor of population stability enters in. The movement of many of East Cleveland's old families from the suburb has brought about inter-community membership, particularly in certain types of clubs. Lakewood does not show as great a tendency for older families to move out of the suburb.

The voluntary associations in Lakewood are like those in Shaker Heights in more respects than they are like those in East Cleveland. In both there are more women's clubs than men's, and as a whole they are more active and influential. In both, the number of clubs with cultural and aesthetic interests is marked and they are the clubs to which women belong. In Lakewood the woman's clubs with their departments of literature, music appreciation, drama, French, and nature study and the literary clubs are strong; in Shaker Heights the literary and garden clubs; in both, the Parent-Teacher Associations extend their programs to include activities of a cultural and social character apart from their work in connection with the schools. In both suburbs there are extensive philanthropic activities through organized women's groups, apparently more in Shaker Heights than in Lakewood. Interest in the theater is quite marked in both suburbs; Lakewood has succeeded in absorbing the smaller amateur clubs into one strong little theater group with a playhouse of its own; Shaker Heights has one thriving organization within its boundaries and residents participate with several amateur groups of Cleveland. Lakewood has a sizable country club group and a few people who belong to the exclusive social clubs of Greater Cleveland; Shaker Heights has a much larger number belonging to the most prominent country clubs and to the most select social clubs. In both, great emphasis is given to social activities. Some very elaborate programs are presented. Paid speakers and entertainers appear frequently on the programs of the larger clubs. Luncheon-bridge parties are common in both but breakfast-bridge was noted only in Shaker Heights. Lakewood and Shaker Heights are the two wealthier suburbs, and the characteristics of their voluntary associations that are similar grow out of the common possession of

people with means, leisure, education, and prestige which wealth may give.

The two suburbs of lower economic level, East Cleveland and Parma, present two significant likenesses which bring them into contrast with Lakewood and Shaker Heights. In both, men's organizations are more dominant than women's, and in both the associations showing greatest activity are those of a non-cultural character. In East Cleveland the men's civic clubs (including the Chamber of Commerce and the service clubs) command most attention; in Parma the patriotic and political are the most aggressive. At present most of the men's clubs show some civic interest in the municipal debt problem confronting Parma. In both there are many men's recreational groups, particularly ball teams of one kind or another. This may also be said of Lakewood. Shaker Heights has a few. Golf seems a more widespread diversion among men in Shaker Heights than baseball. In both East Cleveland and Parma the Parent-Teacher Associations confine their activities largely to matters concerning the schools. While the women's clubs with cultural objectives do not stand out in East Cleveland as they do in Lakewood and Shaker Heights, nevertheless they are much more numerous and prominent than they are in Parma. East Cleveland, in the status of its cultural group activities, represents a suburb that is moving away from its favorable traditional position in this respect, and Parma represents a community that has never had such a tradition. East Cleveland's older established clubs carry on their cultural program, but with diminishing vigor in the woman's club and in combination with Cleveland Heights women in the literary clubs. East Cleveland has three garden clubs, Parma one. Each suburb has a player's group but in neither case does it command the attention that like groups receive in Lakewood and Shaker Heights. Few people in East Cleveland belong to the more select country and social clubs of Greater Cleveland and none from Parma. Shaker Heights and Parma are the two smaller suburbs, and they have in common those characteristics which depend on size. Neither has the diversity of clubs that is found in East Cleveland and Lakewood, such as branches of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., or as many different fraternal orders. In all other major aspects, there is a marked contrast between them. Women's clubs dominate in Shaker Heights, men's clubs in Parma. In Shaker Heights the independent club is the prevailing form of

the women's clubs; in Parma, the auxiliary to the men's. Cultural and philanthropic groups are outstanding in Shaker Heights; patriotic and political in Parma. The programs of Shaker Heights clubs show frequent paid lecturers and entertainers; Parma's clubs seldom have them. Residents of Shaker Heights make up a large proportion of the members of the select country and social prestige clubs of Greater Cleveland. None of Parma's citizens belong. These significant differences may be attributed to the divergence in economic level. As a whole Shaker Heights is a very wealthy suburb and Parma is a poor suburb.

The social institutions of the school, the church, and voluntary associations give the residential suburb its essential social structure. The local government should not be overlooked but its structure and functions are defined to such marked extent by state law that in and of itself it occupies a minor place in the suburban social situation. The local government performs certain necessary routines but does not assume a dynamic role in community activities. The real life of the suburb is carried on through the functioning of the school, the church, and the voluntary association. Through the interrelationships between individuals and families on one hand and these three institutions on the other, and among the institutions themselves, is built up and carried on a community life, distinctive for each suburb. In their structure and functions these institutions not only perform the routine services common to them wherever found, but they also become the instruments for the expression of the values and interests of the dominant social class living in the suburb. What they are and what they do grows out of the consensus of opinion in the suburb and in turn helps to sustain it. Such consensus is achieved in the suburb because of its relatively homogeneous population.

CHAPTER XI

RELATIONS OF THE FOUR SUBURBS TO THE CENTRAL CITY

The relationship of the suburb to the city is, at the same time, one of dependence and one of independence. Its dependence grows out of its very nature as a suburb, and its independence out of its position as a political entity. As a suburb it has physical nearness to the city, with the accompanying intercommunication which such nearness makes possible,and it has people who want to live close to the city in order to share those necessary or desirable aspects of living offered by the city, and yet to escape certain of its handicaps, and, further, who want to enjoy certain advantages available in a suburb. Some suburbs are dependent upon the city for most of their families and all for some. All are dependent on the city economically to a greater or lesser extent, breadwinners earn the money to support their families there and much of it is returned to the city through purchases of commodities and services. The suburb turns to the city for some or all of its sanitary and public utility services and for transportation. As a political entity, the suburb has charge of its own local government, local taxes, and public schools. Through building and zoning ordinances, it can control, within limits,its physical structure, and through its official and unofficial bodies it can regulate many aspects of community living.

Some of these aspects of the dependence of the suburb upon the city have already been presented in earlier chapters. Others will be discussed in this chapter, particularly those which have to do with the purchase and use of commodities and services in Cleveland. The data for this chapter and the one following were taken from the questionnaires mentioned earlier. Some comments are necessary upon the responses to questions in certain sections. The sections where responses could be made with a check were answered by practically everyone. These were the sections on the purchase of certain commodities and services.

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Comparison of the Suburbs

In regard to those aspects of suburban living covered by the data in this chapter, the suburbs vary significantly in their relations with the city. Variation proceeds from location of the suburb relative to the city, from internal structure and interests, and from prevailing economic level. In the degree to which each suburb turns to Cleveland for the satisfaction of shopping, recreational, medical, cultural, and educational needs, all three factors seem to enter in; population movement to the suburb is related to economic level; employment in the city to internal structure of the suburb.

It has been estimated, since conclusive data are not available, that Parma has drawn about three-fourths of its families from Cleveland, East Cleveland about three-fifths, Lakewood around 55 per cent, and Shaker Heights about half. It has been brought out in Chapter VII that families tend to move to suburban areas that approximate the economic level in the city from which they moved and that the greatest quantity of movement from the city is at the middle and lower middle economic levels. It is, therefore, to be expected that Parma, of lower middle economic level, should get the highest proportion of its families from Cleveland, that East Cleveland, of middle economic level, should rank second, that Lakewood, of upper middle level, should rank third, and that Shaker Heights, of high economic level, should receive the least number. In other words, the dependence of the suburb on the city for its population is in inverse order to its prevailing economic level.

According to the sample, the two smaller suburbs have a larger proportion of their wage earners working in Cleveland than the two larger suburbs. Although the sample may not be conclusive evidence, other facts support this distribution. Proportionally, Lakewood and East Cleveland can give more employment in their stores and industries than can either Parma or Shaker Heights. Further, industrial establishments in a nearby suburb offer opportunities of employment to workers of East Cleveland. Shaker Heights has comparatively few retail stores and no industries; self-employment would lie largely in certain professions, such as in teaching and medicine and in domestic service. Parma has some farming and market gardening, a few very small industries, and more retail stores proportionally than Shaker Heights, but fewer retail store

employees.[1] Neither one has any nearby suburbs which offer industrial employment. Further the managerial and professional work of a large number of Shaker Heights residents is carried on largely in the city. These facts offer some explanation for the relative number of workers from the four suburbs employed in the city; Shaker Heights with the most, proportionally, followed in order by Parma, East Cleveland, and Lakewood. The degree of employment in Cleveland seems directly related to the occupational structure of the community and to the occupational distribution of its citizens.

Of all the purposes listed for which suburban people go to Cleveland, shopping in department stores claims the largest number from each suburb. The two east side suburbs show higher proportions of shoppers than do the two west side; Shaker Heights has the highest percentage (92.8 per cent) and Lakewood the smallest (77.8 per cent), with East Cleveland having more (88.4 per cent) than Parma (86.0 per cent). But frequency of shopping does not correspond with proportion of shoppers. Shaker Heights with the highest proportion of shoppers ranks second in the frequency with which they visit department stores; 54.3 per cent go once a week or oftener and the mean number of trips is 3.9 per month. East Cleveland, ranking second in the proportion of shoppers, takes fourth position with regard to frequency; 38.0 per cent shop once a week or more often and the mean number of visits is 3.4 per month. Lakewood is fourth in order in proportion of shoppers and third in the frequency with which they shop; 49.2 per cent go once a week or more times, and they average 3.7 trips a month. Parma, third in proportion of shoppers, is highest in frequency; 61.3 per cent go once a week or oftener and the mean for all shoppers is 4.5 visits a month. In order to get a comparative figure on total shopping in Cleveland department stores an index combining number of shoppers and frequency of shopping has been worked out.[2] This index is 285 for Shaker Heights, 246

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[1]Number of local retail employees per 1,000 population: Lakewood 20.9; East Cleveland 20.5; Parma 12.5; Shaker Heights 13.1. U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Final Retail Census of Ohio: 1933" (Washington, 1934), pp. 11-12, 14-15. (Mimeographed.)

[2]The index of total shopping in department stores was computed from Table 60 as follows: $\frac{(p \times m) + \frac{c}{2}}{N} \times 100$

p - number giving frequency
m - mean of frequencies
c - number checking
N - total number in sample

for Parma, 239 for East Cleveland, and 225 for Lakewood.

Shopping in Cleveland is not limited to department stores, although it is to them that the great majority of shoppers from all the suburbs go. From no suburb do more than a fourth of the people in the sample visit specialty shops and Shaker Heights is the only suburb which shows a percentage that high. East Cleveland comes second with 18.3 per cent, and the two west side suburbs follow, with 17.0 per cent for Parma and 12.5 per cent for Lakewood. As in the case of department stores, the frequency with which people shop in specialty shops does not correspond with the number of shoppers. Parma has the highest mean frequency--3.4 times per month--then Shaker Heights with 3.1, then Lakewood with 3.0 and last East Cleveland with 2.8. There is a marked difference in the relative number of people from each suburb who go to chain stores in the city. The largest proportion of chain store shoppers are from Parma (29.4 per cent), but the mean frequency is lowest (7.2 per month). The proportion from Shaker Heights is just about half as great (15.4 per cent) and East Cleveland and Lakewood each have still smaller percentages (12.6 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively). The mean frequency for Shaker Heights is highest (12.1 times per month) followed by Lakewood with a mean of 11.0 and East Cleveland with a mean of 10.5. The index of total shopping in chain stores and specialty shops for Parma is 255, for Shaker Heights 219, for East Cleveland 108, and for Lakewood 90. The index of shopping in all three types of stores thus becomes 504 for Shaker Heights, 501 for Parma, 347 for East Cleveland, and 315 for Lakewood.

The commodities purchased in Cleveland by the great majority of people in all four suburbs are clothes, furniture, gifts, books, and household supplies. The only commodity bought locally by a majority in each suburb is groceries. Drugs are purchased predominantly in the suburb except in Parma, where a few more people buy drugs in the city. Notions are bought by a majority of people of Shaker Heights and of Parma in the city, by a majority of people of Lakewood in the suburb, and by about equal numbers of East Cleveland people in both places. Shaker Heights and Lakewood individuals secure flowers largely in their own suburbs, while Parma and East Cleveland people turn in greater numbers to the city for them. On the whole the commodities for immediate consumption and use tend to be purchased in the suburb and the

more durable ones to be secured in the city. As a measure of the degree to which the individuals in these suburbs rely upon the city for the purchase of the more durable commodities, an index of purchasers for the six commodities which are bought largely in the city has been figured.[1] That index is highest for Shaker Heights--91 persons per 100 purchasers--next for Parma, with 88 per 100 purchasers, then East Cleveland, with 85 per 100 purchasers, and last for Lakewood, with 77 per 100 purchasers.

These data on the amount of shopping done and the commodities bought essentially in Cleveland bring out that the two smaller and younger suburbs are much more dependent upon Cleveland for the purchase of commodities than are the two larger and older suburbs. This fact seems directly related to local shopping facilities. If the ratio to population of suburban stores selling the six commodities acquired largely in Cleveland, namely, clothes, furniture, gifts, books, hosehold supplies, and notions, is considered,[2] it will be seen that Lakewood, ranking lowest in index of shopping and in purchasers per 100, has the highest ratio of such stores--2.2 per 1,000 population. East Cleveland, wity a ratio of stores to population of 1.9 per 1,000, takes third place with regard to quantity of shopping. Parma's ratio of stores to population is 1 per 1,000 and it ranks second in degree of shopping done in Cleveland. Shaker Heights, with the highest indices for using Cleveland stores, has the lowest ratio for stores of its own--0.8 per 1,000. The amount of shopping done in Cleveland by people in each of the four suburbs varies inversely with the shopping facilities available in the suburb.

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[1] These indices were computed from the four tables numbered 60 (see pp. 385, 398, 404, and 410 of the complete dissertation, which is in the University of Chicago Libraries) by dividing the sum of the purchasers of the six commodities in Cleveland by the sum of the total purchasers and multiplying the quotient by 100.

[2] The ratio of stores to population for 1933 was:

	Estimated Population for 1933	Number of Stores Selling Six Commodities	Ratio per 1,000
Lakewood.....	72,413	160	2.2
East Cleveland.....	40,857	78	1.9
Shaker Heights.....	20,148	17	0.8
Parma.....	15,427	14	1.0

Each suburb patronizes to a greater or lesser extent the nine different forms of cultural and recreational activities asked about on the questionnaire. They vary in the preference given these forms, in the proportion of people participating, and in the frequency of participation. In all the suburbs the motion picture show ranks first in preference; lunch and dinner follow in the three largest suburbs but not in Parma where visiting parks in Cleveland is preferred. Going to lunch and to dinner follow in order. Visiting parks was at the bottom of the list for Shaker Heights and Lakewood and next to the bottom in East Cleveland. Opera ends the list in East Cleveland and Parma.

In the proportion of people participating in the various activities, those from Shaker Heights share in cultural and recreational affairs of all types but three to a greater extent than the people from any other suburb. It has the lowest percentage of those visiting parks and ranks after Lakewood in the proportion attending opera, and after East Cleveland in percentage of attendance at museums.[1] Parma has a much higher proportion of people visiting Cleveland parks than any other suburb and stands next to Shaker Heights in the proportion of those attending motion picture theaters and parties in the city. In all other forms this suburb ranks fourth. The proportion of people patronizing the opera and concerts is particularly small. East Cleveland has the least percentage of people going to the motion picture theater and parties, the largest visiting museums,and it ranks second in attendance at parks, lunch, dinner, the theater, and concerts. For all types of activities listed except opera, where it stands first, Lakewood stands third in its proportions.

[1]The percentages of people participating in various activities are as follows:

Activity	Lakewood		East Cleveland		Shaker Heights		Parma	
	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	Rank
Motion pictures.....	61.7	1	57.3	1	80.8	1	74.3	1
Lunch.....	36.8	2	37.9	2	50.5	2	28.7	3
Theater.....	27.8	3	32.3	3	47.1	3	18.4	5
Dinner.....	23.9	4	28.0	4	38.5	4	15.4	6
Parties.....	23.4	5	18.3	7	31.2	5	26.5	4
Opera.....	17.7	6	10.3	9	12.5	8	1.5	9
Concerts.....	16.1	7	22.0	6	28.4	6	5.9	8
Museums.....	14.8	8	26.1	5	23.1	7	14.7	7
Parks.....	8.8	9	17.9	8	5.3	9	32.3	2

In general, it may be said that in proportion of people participating in Cleveland recreational and cultural activities, Shaker Heights ranks first, East Cleveland second, Lakewood third, and Parma fourth. Factors that enter in to determine the degree of participation seem to be the cost of entertainment, location of the suburb relative to the place of entertainment in Cleveland, and local interests and offerings. In Shaker Heights, where cost would act the least as a deterrent, where there is ready access to Cleveland's east side cultural center by automobile, where there are no motion pictures within the suburb, and where cultural and social interest prevail very widely, as brought out in the previous chapter, it is readily understandable why this suburb stands out as occupying first place among the four suburbs in the proportion of its people participating in Cleveland activities. Generally speaking, when its people want a beautiful outdoor spot they can go into their own gardens or to a country club. There is little occasion for them to use the parks of Cleveland. Parma's position as fourth in proportion of people participating in six out of nine types may be attributed first to the cost element. People in that suburb as a whole have the least money to spend on entertainment. The cost of having dinner in Cleveland, attending the theater, concerts, or opera is prohibitive to most people in Parma, even if they had the interest in these cultural activities. The facts that Parma had no motion picture theater at the time these data were collected and that a number of west side neighborhood houses could be attended very inexpensively seem to explain Parma's rank as second in attendance at motion pictures. Likewise to visit parks and museums may be done at no cost but carfare. The cost element probably enters in very little in the case of Lakewood. Its rank as third in proportion of participants is apparently due largely to its own internal opportunities for recreation and cultural life and to its location on the west side. Lakewood has a number of picture shows and through its organized club life provides a wide variety of entertainment within the suburb, as discussed in the last chapter. Many more people living in Lakewood would attend the functions held at the east side cultural center of Cleveland were it not for the time and effort required to get there. East Cleveland's rank as second in participation is not so clear as in the case of the other suburbs. Economically it is less able to meet the cost of wider participation

than Lakewood, but it has the most favorable location of all the suburbs relative to Cleveland places of entertainment. Further, it is not so well organized internally to supply entertainment as is Lakewood, but neither are the interests in music and the theater so widespread. Evidently its location makes it possible for more people, proportionally, who have these interests to satisfy them in Cleveland than is possible from Lakewood.

In the frequency with which people from the various suburbs attend eight types of entertainment, there is a certain sameness amid the variation. There is a tendency for the mean of each activity to cluster rather closely around one frequency. On the basis of these central frequencies, the activities may be divided into three groups: those which people from the suburbs tend to frequent once a week on the average, those attended two or three times a month, and those attended once or twice a month. Lunching alone falls into the first group; attending motion picture shows, parties, and going to dinner and to the parks into the second; and patronizing the theater, concerts, and museums into the third. While the means of frequencies tend to cluster around a central figure, they vary within a limited range from suburb to suburb.[1] Shaker Heights people lunch in Cleveland most often (mean 4.2) and East Cleveland people the least (mean 3.6 times per month). Lakewood residents average the highest attendance at the motion picture shows of Cleveland (mean 3.1) and Parma the lowest (mean 2.8). Parma's citizens go least frequently to parties, averaging 2.5 times a month, and Shaker Heights most frequently, averaging 3.3 parties a month. Again Parma has the lowest mean (2.3) for taking dinner in the city and Shaker Heights the highest (3.3), but Parma reverses its position in the case of

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[1]The means of frequency of attendance at eight forms of entertainment are:

Form	Lakewood	East Cleveland	Shaker Heights	Parma
Lunch.....	3.8	3.6	4.2	4.1
Motion pictures	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.8
Parties.....	2.8	2.6	3.3	2.5
Dinner.....	2.4	2.6	3.3	2.3
Parks.....	2.2	2.4	2.1	3.0
Theater.....	2.1	1.3	1.5	1.8
Concerts.....	1.8	1.6	2.3	1.8
Museums.....	1.4	1.2	2.0	1.0

visiting parks. There Parma stands first, with a mean attendance of 3.0 and Shaker Heights fourth with a mean of 2.1. East Cleveland has the smallest mean for being present at concerts (1.6) and again Shaker Heights is first (2.3). Lakewood people show the highest average attendance at the theater, with a mean of 2.1, and East Cleveland the lowest, with a mean of 1.3. Shaker Heights is the only suburb where individuals go to museums as often as twice a month and Parma is the only one where they go as seldom as once a month. Thus it is seen that Shaker Heights has the highest mean of attendance for five kinds of entertainment (lunch, dinner, parties, concerts, museums); Lakewood for two (motion picture theater and theater); and Parma for one (parks). Parma has the lowest mean for frequency of attendance at the motion picture theater, dinner, parties, and museums; East Cleveland at lunch, theater, and concerts; and Shaker Heights at parks. Since there is such variation among the suburbs in regard to the number of participants from the different suburbs for the types of activities listed and in regard to the frequency with which they participate, an index combining the two has been worked out.[1] This "total use" index shows that Shaker Heights outstrips the other three suburbs considerably in participation in Cleveland's recreational and cultural activities and that Parma, East Cleveland, and Lakewood follow each other rather closely. The index for Shaker Heights is 65, for Parma 43, for East Cleveland 41, and for Lakewood 38.

The medical services of Cleveland are used extensively by people in all four suburbs. They vary among themselves in the proportion of the total number in the sample using the different types of Cleveland medical services and in the proportion of those using each service who go to Cleveland for them. The suburbs are alike in the order of preference given to the different types of Cleveland medical services; in all, dentists rank first, physicians second, hospitals third, and clinics last. The proportions of

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[1] The "total use" index = $\dfrac{(M \times P) + \frac{I}{2}}{N} \times 100$

M - mean of frequencies for each type of activity
P - number of participants giving frequency
I - number of participants giving indefinite answer
N - total number in sample for each suburb

the total number of individuals in the sample who avail themselves of each kind of service, however, differ markedly.[1] Lakewood and East Cleveland show smaller proportions in every case than Shaker Heights and Parma. For every type of medical care proportionally fewer individuals from Lakewood seek Cleveland services than from East Cleveland and less than half as many as from Shaker Heights. More people from Shaker Heights, relatively speaking, than from any other suburb visit city dentists and hospitals, and Parma has the same relative position with regard to physicians and clinics. Of the total number receiving medical care, for all the suburbs except Lakewood, many more individuals turn to Cleveland than use the medical services in their own suburb. In Lakewood, however, a larger number are patients of local dentists and a very much larger number of local physicians than of those in the city; but more people frequent Cleveland hospitals and clinics than the local ones.

The "total use" index for Cleveland medical services indicates the difference with which the four suburbs depend upon the city in this respect: Shaker Heights 210, Parma 196, East Cleveland 124, and Lakewood 92. The explanation for variation in dependence upon the city for medical services lies largely, it seems, in the availability of such services in the suburb itself. Lakewood was the only suburb that had a general hospital at the time these data were gathered; there is one now in East Cleveland. The availability of physicians and dentists also en-

[1]The percentages of total number of individuals using medical services in Cleveland were assembled from Tables 58 (see complete dissertation) for each suburb:

Service	Lakewood	East Cleveland	Shaker Heights	Parma
Dentist.....	39.4	54.7	84.1	72.0
Physician.....	26.7	51.7	63.9	65.0
Hospital.....	18.4	30.0	42.3	38.2
Clinic.....	9.3	14.4	20.2	22.1

Following are the percentages of total "users" seeking medical care in Cleveland and in the suburb:

	Lakewood		East Cleveland		Shaker Heights		Parma	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
Dentist.....	48.6	52.6	63.9	36.9	82.3	35.0	87.7	13.3
Physician...	36.5	57.2	64.3	38.1	70.6	44.1	86.1	13.9
Hospital....	53.8	49.4	97.9	2.2	76.0	27.4	96.3	3.7
Clinic.....	79.2	20.8	91.3	8.7	100.0	....	88.2	11.8

ters in. Lakewood has 1.1 physicians per 1,000 population, and 1.0 dentists; East Cleveland has 1.0 physicians and 0.8 dentists; Shaker Heights, 0.6 physicians and 0.22 dentists; and Parma, 0.12 physicians and 0.12 dentists.[1] While Parma has even less medical service available than has Shaker Heights, the index shows that it does not use the city services as much as the other suburb. Other factors must enter in here and they are undoubtedly cost and standards. At the higher plane of living, such as is found in Shaker Heights, more people use medical services. Medical practitioners are employed not only to make their patients well but to keep them well. Further, residents of Shaker Heights can afford the services of the many specialists located in the city. Although Parma has more limited medical facilities than Shaker Heights in accordance with its plane of living, much less medical care is possible, particularly of a preventive character. Hence, although people of Parma might have even more occasion to turn to Cleveland for medical care than those in Shaker Heights, for reasons of cost and of custom, they would be less apt to do so.

The suburban use of Cleveland library facilities in its general pattern is a repetition of that of the use of medical services. The two larger suburbs with libraries of their own patronize the city system to a much less extent than the two smaller suburbs which were without libraries. While the percentage of Lakewood and East Cleveland patrons are about the same,[2] that of Shaker Heights is noticeably larger than the percentage for Parma. Further, of all people going to the libraries, in Lakewood twice as many patronize the suburban library as the Cleveland system, and in East Cleveland two and a fourth times as many. In Shaker Heights, where branches of the County library are numerous and accessible, a few more people get their reading

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[1] American Medical Directory (15th ed.; Chicago: Press of the American Medical Association, 1938), pp. 1348-62; Cleveland and Suburban Classified Telephone Directory (Cleveland: Ohio Bell Telephone Company, 1938), pp. 152-56.

[2] Percentages of total number using educational services of Cleveland, assembled from tables numbered 58 (see complete dissertation).

Service	Lakewood	East Cleveland	Shaker Heights	Parma
Library.....	38.3	37.2	61.5	53.7
Lectures.....	16.6	18.6	33.2	16.2
Classes.....	12.0	14.7	21.6	4.4

material in the suburb than do in the city; in Parma, where there are only two stations to serve that large sparsely-populated area, 50 per cent more library users are patrons of the Cleveland system than of the local stations. In case of lectures and educational classes, the two east side suburbs send larger proportions of their residents to Cleveland than do the two west side and as has been the order so many times Shaker Heights sends the largest proportion and Parma the smallest. The mean of frequency of attendance at lectures varies little among the suburbs; those who go to Cleveland to listen to lectures attend twice a month, on the average.

Among the other purposes for which suburban people go to Cleveland, to bank is the most common one. Four-fifths of the people in Shaker Heights have family accounts in Cleveland, more than three-fourths of those in Parma, two-thirds of those in East Cleveland, and about three-fifths of those from Lakewood. While the number of personal accounts kept anywhere are very much smaller than the number of family accounts, about half the individuals from Shaker Heights have personal accounts in Cleveland banks and each of the other three suburbs have approximately the same proportion (around two-fifths).[1] The distribution of accounts between

[1]Percentages of total number of people using miscellaneous services in Cleveland assembled from tables numbered 60 (see the complete dissertation).

Services	Lakewood	East Cleveland	Shaker Heights	Parma
Banks				
Family account....	58.8	66.8	80.3	77.9
Personal account..	29.3	28.7	48.6	30.1
Lawyer.....	24.6	24.5	40.1	23.5
Beauty operator.....	12.8	20.2	23.1	32.3
Caterer.....	6.7	8.2	19.2	8.1

Percentages of "total users" seeking services in city and suburb:

	Lakewood		East Cleveland		Shaker Heights		Parma	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
Banks								
Family account..	68.4	38.4	77.3	31.7	82.3	35.0	100.0	....
Personal account..	66.3	36.5	73.5	31.2	76.0	27.4	100.0	....
Lawyer.....	86.5	13.4	93.0	9.4	96.5	3.5	84.1	15.9
Beauty operator...	21.2	83.7	33.3	69.3	44.7	61.6	64.7	36.8
Caterer.....	62.0	38.0	83.7	16.3	65.5	42.7	73.3	26.7

city and suburban banks again depends upon the banking facilities offered by the suburb. Lakewood with ten banks has the smallest percentage of people with Cleveland accounts, both personal and family, and the largest proportion using local banks; East Cleveland with two banks ranks second lowest in the proportion of accounts placed in city banks; Shaker Heights with one bank has still larger percentages of accounts in the city; and Parma without any bank has all of them there. The majority of people in the suburbs do not have a lawyer but those who do look to Cleveland almost entirely for this service. Very few local lawyers are hired in any suburb. Shaker Heights employs an appreciably higher percentage of lawyers than the other three suburbs among which there is an insignificant difference in percentages. The same statement may be made in regard to the caterer. Very few suburban people hire a caterer excepting Shaker Heights, and in each suburb a much larger proportion of all caterers hired are from the city. There is a different situation in the case of beauty services. The suburbs show appreciable differences in the proportion of people going to Cleveland for these services. Parma has a much larger proportion of people going to Cleveland for these services. Parma has a much larger proportion than any of the others, Shaker Heights comes second, East Cleveland is a close third, and Lakewood a considerably smaller fourth. Parma alone has more people who patronize the city beauty shops; people in the other three prefer to visit local shops, particularly in East Cleveland, where more than twice as many go to local shops as to city shops, and in Lakewood where the ratio is 4 to 1 in favor of the suburb. The "total use" index for these four services is highest for Parma with 87 and lowest for Lakewood with 58. East Cleveland has an index of 66 and Shaker Heights of 71.

In conclusion, it may be repeated that every suburb looks to the city for the satisfaction of all or part of many needs. The factor that seems to operate most generally in determining this dependence is the degree of organization within the suburb to supply its own wants. Lakewood, the largest suburb and most fully organized within itself, shows on the whole the least dependence upon the city. East Cleveland, next largest in size and not so self-sufficient as Lakewood, is more dependent upon Cleveland. The two smaller and younger suburbs, each of which is as yet meagerly organized for shopping and for meeting recreational

and cultural needs on a community-wide scale, are most dependent upon the city--Shaker Heights more than Parma. Other factors that seem to influence the degree of participation in particular cases are the prevailing economic level of the suburb, its location, its plane of living, and its interests.

CHAPTER XII

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUBURBAN LIFE

It is common knowledge that living conditions in any large metropolitan center present some very unsatisfactory aspects and that many people expect to escape one or another of these undesirable features by moving into a suburb. They hope to get away from the noise and dirt of the city, from areas deteriorating physically and socially, and from living spacially close to strangers. By becoming residents of a suburb they anticipate a cleaner, quieter, more attractive environment, more space both within and without their houses, better educational and social advantages for their children, and more friendly relationships with their neighbors. This chapter treats of the motives, as stated on the questionnaire, that induced families to move to one or another of the four suburbs, the kind of relationships that exist between families living in the same neighborhood, the features of suburban life that they like and dislike, and the degree of satisfaction with their own suburb as expressed by their willingness to remain there.

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Comparison of the Four Suburbs

The suburbs differ from one another not in the nature of the motives that induced people to move into each one but rather in the proportion of people who acted in response to one or another motive. In comparing the reasons individuals gave for their families moving into one of the four suburbs, the following points seemed significant:

1. The desire to live in a healthier, cleaner neighborhood was mentioned, proportionally, many more times as a reason for moving to the younger suburbs than to the older ones, although it ranked first in every suburb. Parma and Shaker Heights, due to their greater distance

from the city and lack of industries and railways, and to their sparse population, are comparatively free from dirt and smoke of bituminous coal burning railway engines and furnaces of factories, apartments, and houses.

2. The expectation of better schools for their children ranks among the five top reasons in Shaker Heights (where the percentage is much higher than for any other suburb); in Lakewood; and in East Cleveland; but near the end of the list in Parma. These differences undoubtedly grew out of the reputation for unusual schools in Shaker Heights, for good schools in Lakewood and East Cleveland, and for financially crippled schools in Parma. It may also be an indication of the cultural level of the people moving into Parma. The quality of the education of children may not be so essential a value as it is for the people moving into the other suburbs.

3. To buy a home is among the four top motives in all suburbs,[1] but a larger proportion of families moved to Shaker Heights and Parma for this reason than to Lakewood or to East Cleveland. It is also interesting to note that where one reason only was given, to buy a home was the most potent single factor in causing people to move to the suburbs. The question of why people buy a home in one suburb rather than in another involves many factors. Some of these have already been indicated in regard to Shaker Heights and Parma. Undoubtedly the much greater availability of building sites and of newly constructed houses and the high pressure sales promotion schemes of real estate companies were important factors in home buying in Shaker Heights and Parma. The high cost of land and the restrictions in regard to buildings in Shaker Heights would insure an exclusiveness that appealed to wealthy, socially elite families, while the cheaper land values in Parma and its absence of restrictions on type of house brought home-owning within the reach of a much lower economic group.

4. To live among socially desirable people is more significant as a factor to people moving to Shaker Heights and to Lakewood than to those moving into East Cleveland and Parma. It should be added that it is more important in Shaker Heights than in Lakewood. The proportions correspond to the reputation these four suburbs have as to social status.

5. To get away from a neighborhood that is physically deteriorating and into which objectionable people are moving was a more important factor in influencing families to move to Shaker Heights than for any other suburb. The other three suburbs show about the same proportions leaving their former localities for each of these reasons, and these proportions are about half those of Shaker

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[1] In East Cleveland, according to the adjusted sample, it ranks sixth.

Heights. On the other hand, to get away from noise and traffic and from neighborhoods invaded by industries stand out prominently as reasons for taking up residence in Parma. Only from a fourth to a half as many people mentioned them with respect to moving to the other three suburbs. These facts seem to signify three things; first, the importance of the social environment to people moving to Shaker Heights; second, the importance of the physical environment to those moving to Parma; third, the kind of middle position assumed by people going into Lakewood and East Cleveland with respect to the social and physical environment. They could not assume a good physical environment and give their efforts to improving their social relations to the degree possible to the people choosing to live in Shaker Heights, nor was their attention so largely directed to securing better physical conditions as in the case of Parma.

6. To have a yard and garden and to have a play yard for their children were reasons given by considerably greater proportions of people in Shaker Heights and Parma than in the other two suburbs. This seems to be directly related to the greater availability of land in the newer suburbs. More people also moved into them in order to use land purchased earlier. This is probably tied up with land speculation. A few stated that it was.

7. To live among people with whom a more friendly relation could be established was a minor reason in all the suburbs, and to be nearer friends and relatives in all the suburbs but Parma. To be nearer relatives ranked rather high in Parma. In each suburb, more people desired to live among others more socially desirable than among those with whom they could be on more friendly terms or to be near friends or relatives (Parma excepted in the last case). There seems to be an implication here that to raise the social status of the family was a more impelling reason to move than to live among people on a friendly basis. The importance given to family relationships in Parma grows out of the closer knit family of foreign born nationalities living there.

8. To be nearer to place of work occupied an important position only for those families moving into Lakewood and East Cleveland. The location of the several suburbs with respect to Cleveland is the obvious reason for this response.

9. To live more cheaply was a factor expected by very few families who moved to Shaker Heights or to Lakewood. This was a very minor reason in the case of these two suburbs, but it did not rank nearly so far down on the scale in the case of East Cleveland, and particularly of Parma. In every one of the suburbs, the least number of persons replied that they anticipated getting lower taxes by moving to the suburb.

In general it may be said that the more important reasons in causing people to take up residence in all the suburbs seemed to be those involving better physical conditions and the acquisition of a home. In all the suburbs but Parma, the education of children was an important reason. Reasons involving social status were more important in Shaker Heights and in Lakewood; in Shaker Heights and Parma those involving the use of land already purchased ranked high; and reasons concerned with nearness to work were more important in Lakewood and East Cleveland than in the other suburbs; and those promising cheaper living costs in East Cleveland and Parma.

The suburbs were quite similar in the respect that the great majority considered that they now lived among their social and economic equals. The people of Shaker Heights and Lakewood felt this to a greater extent than did the people in East Cleveland and Parma. East Cleveland was the suburb the most persons of which stated that they were not living among their social equals. A similar situation obtained in Parma with respect to those who were not living among their financial equals. Since such a large proportion of the people in each of the four suburbs looked upon their neighbors as their social and financial equals, it is quite in keeping that the prevailing relationship of these citizens with their neighbors should be one of friendliness. In no suburb is the percentage of neighbors considered as strangers higher than 7 per cent, and in no suburb is the percentage of those with whom the same social life is shared higher than 11 per cent. Even within these ranges the 2 larger suburbs stand higher than the 2 smaller suburbs in the proportions of people, all of whose neighbors are strangers; but the two smaller suburbs show about twice as many persons who share the same social life with their neighbors as the other two suburbs. The smaller suburb with greater homogeneity of population seems to encourage neighbors to become friendly enough to share the same social life. The economic level apparently makes little difference in this process.

The distribution of friends varies considerably from suburb to suburb and seems to be related to the places from which families moved to the suburbs and to quantity of family movements to and from the suburbs. In each suburb except Parma, more friends live in the same suburb than anywhere else; in Parma the

number living in Cleveland is one more than the number in Parma.[1] The percentage of friends living in the same suburb is greatest in Lakewood and smallest in East Cleveland, with the smaller suburbs holding a middle position with practically the same proportions. In Chapter VII it was brought out that Lakewood has the smallest index of movement into and out of the suburb, that East Cleveland has the largest, and that the indices for Shaker Heights and Parma are approximately the same and rank between the other two. In other words, the greater the quantity of family movement in and out of the suburb, the less will be the concentration of friends within that suburb. For friends living in Cleveland, Shaker Heights has the least proportion there and Parma the greatest, with the larger suburbs holding the middle position and showing like proportions. For friends in other suburbs, Shaker Heights and East Cleveland have practically the same proportions which in each case is larger than that for Cleveland; Lakewood and Parma likewise present like proportions which are smaller than those for the other two suburbs and smaller than the proportion of friends living in Cleveland. In all suburbs except Lakewood, the smallest proportion of friends live outside the Cleveland Metropolitan Area. The distribution of friends in localities outside the suburb follows closely the proportional movements to and from those localities.

Reasons for liking and disliking each of the four suburbs present some interesting likenesses and differences. In all the suburbs but East Cleveland the physical characteristics were pointed out more frequently than any other as objects of approval; in East Cleveland they ranked second. Community organization ranked second in all but East Cleveland, where it was first.

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[1] The distribution of friends was as follows:

	Total Number	Cleveland		Suburb		Other Suburb		Elsewhere	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Lakewood...	5,912	1,353	23.0	2,818	47.0	605	10.2	1,136	19.1
East Cleveland	3,924	841	21.4	1,363	34.7	1,171	29.8	549	14.0
Shaker Heights..	1,949	335	17.1	763	39.1	572	29.4	279	14.4
Parma.....	1,194	488	40.8	487	40.8	132	11.1	87	7.3

Cleanliness and location are the two physical features that most people in Lakewood and East Cleveland mentioned favorably. Nearness of these suburbs to Cleveland is the aspect of location most often referred to, but a number of individuals in East Cleveland also liked its nearness to the east side cultural center of Cleveland and a number in Lakewood the site of that suburb on the lake and near the country. On the other hand, there were a few in each suburb who considered that their suburbs were too far removed from downtown Cleveland, and a few in Lakewood who thought it was too distant from Cleveland's cultural center. Not many people in Shaker Heights and Parma either liked or disliked the location of their respective suburbs. A few approved their location at some distance from the city and others disliked it for the same reason. Cleanliness, quietness, healthfulness, and spaciousness were features that people in Shaker Heights and Parma emphasized by the frequency with which they mentioned them. In addition the fresh air made an especial appeal to the residents of Parma and the beauty of the suburb to those in Shaker Heights. Moreover, no one in either suburb mentioned noise and traffic, dirt, or congestion as disagreeable features of their suburbs. The picture is considerably different for the other two suburbs. Quietness and beauty received more attention in Lakewood than in East Cleveland where only two people thought there was anything beautiful about that suburb. The fresh air was noticed by a small proportion of Lakewood people but passed almost unmentioned in East Cleveland. Healthfulness and spaciousness were likewise rarely alluded to. On the other hand congestion, noise, and traffic were among the physical characteristics that received the disapproval of the most people, and dirt belongs in this group for East Cleveland.

Quite a few people in Shaker Heights and Lakewood stated that they liked the "fine" houses in those suburbs; an almost negligible number mentioned "good" homes in East Cleveland; and no one said anything about liking the type of house in Parma. East Cleveland stands out from all the other suburbs in the number of individuals who stated that they disliked the physical deterioration going on in that suburb and the increase in industries. The increase in apartments and physical deterioration bothered negligible numbers in Lakewood, and they were not mentioned in connection with the other two suburbs. Parma is unique

in having unpaved roads which are one of the most objectionable features of that suburb according to the responses.

Schools are the aspect of community organization which received the most favorable responses in all the suburbs but Parma where recreational facilities stood higher in favor. In East Cleveland and Shaker Heights no other feature of suburban life was mentioned so frequently. The adjectives "excellent" and "fine" were often used to describe the schools. Lakewood was much more moderate in its approval of the schools. There were, however, a few people in each suburb who did not accept the schools as unqualifiedly good. These individuals criticized the crowding in the two larger suburbs, the laxness in Shaker Heights, and just the schools in Parma. Again the people of the two east side suburbs seemed to like their municipal governments and the way they function, and again Lakewood was more moderate in its praise on this point. The people of the east side suburbs approved of their local government because of the adequate garbage and rubbish collection and because of police and fire protection. East Cleveland people also referred favorably to the non-partisan city-manager plan. No one in Parma mentioned the local government favorably; however, a number criticized its failure to provide sufficient public services and the interference of politics in the management of the community. A few persons in East Cleveland also felt that politics were interfering with the efficient working of the city-manager plan. Shopping facilities received more favorable than unfavorable comment in three suburbs, but the reverse was true for Parma. In all the suburbs recreational facilities were mentioned as satisfactory more often than as unsatisfactory, but as in the case of the church and the library they did not stand out as prominent objects to like or to dislike. If, however, the number of people who mentioned the lack of parks and beaches which have recreational implications are added, a rather larger percentage of Lakewood people were dissatisfied with the recreational facilities of that suburb. Except in Shaker Heights, transportation facilities received very much more adverse criticism than praise, and in Shaker Heights only two more persons approved of the rapid transit than disapproved of the lack of street cars and buses to other parts of Greater Cleveland. All comments from Parma were unfavorable, and no other aspect of the community life received so many adverse replies. The slowness, the inade-

quacy, and the cost--all came in for condemnation. Each suburb had some individuals who considered that taxes were too high, more in East Cleveland and Parma than in Lakewood and Shaker Heights. Parma people in particular mentioned high taxes as an objectionable feature of living in that suburb.

Community attitudes impress a much larger proportion of Lakewood people as desirable features of their suburb than is found in any other suburb. East Cleveland came second, Shaker Heights third, and Parma fourth. For Lakewood the most individuals referred to its residential qualities and smaller numbers to its "homelike" atmosphere, its friendliness, neighborliness, and community spirit. For East Cleveland most people mentioned its community spirit and neighborliness while fewer were impressed with its friendliness or "homelike" atmosphere. For Shaker Heights and for Parma the neighborliness and its residential qualities were best liked. On the other hand, all the suburbs except Parma seem unfriendly to a few persons, and Lakewood and Shaker Heights are accused of snobbery and smugness by a few more.

More than a fifth of the people in Lakewood and Shaker Heights approved of the class of people living in those suburbs. Where adjectives were used to describe the residents, such terms as "refined socially" and "socially desirable," and "intelligent" were used by the people in Shaker Heights, and "refined," "good, middle class," and "good, clean class" by those in Lakewood, East Cleveland gave less favorable attention to the class of people living in that suburb than the two suburbs just mentioned but much more than Parma. "Nice class of people" is the most common expression where a descriptive phrase is used. East Cleveland more than any other suburb was concerned about the changes in class of people taking place. Some referred only to an "undesirable class of people" who were moving into East Cleveland and others specifically referred to the foreign-born, particularly the Italians. At the same time some deplored the moving out of "the best families." A limited number of people in each of the other suburbs showed disapproval of people of lower economic level, of Jews, or the foreign-born taking up residence in their suburbs. Shaker Heights was the only suburb where exclusiveness was explicitly stated as a feature approved and lack of sufficient exclusiveness as one that was disapproved.

Shaker Heights seems to have the largest proportion of

people who are thoroughly satisfied with their suburb. Three-tenths liked everything or disliked nothing. East Cleveland and Lakewood had only a little more than half as large a proportion who liked everything or disliked nothing, but Parma had little more than a fifth as many who were so satisfied. On the other hand, East Cleveland had a few individuals who were thoroughly dissatisfied; Parma, fewer proportionally; and Lakewood still fewer. There is no one in Shaker Heights who likes nothing and dislikes everything about that suburb.

The attitudes of people towards each suburb is further confirmed by their willingness to remain in their present location, were they given the chance to move elsewhere. In Shaker Heights only 6.5 per cent stated that they would like to move elsewhere and 88.0 per cent preferred Shaker Heights to another community in the whole metropolitan area. Lakewood showed three times as many, proportionally, ready to move and a little more than two-thirds wanting to remain. More than five times as many, proportionally, would like to leave Parma while 45.6 per cent would keep their residence in that suburb. East Cleveland is the only suburb where more individuals would leave the suburb than preferred to stay. Two-fifths would remain and 45.3 per cent stated they would move. The few persons who expressed a willingness to leave Shaker Heights would go mainly to other suburbs which approach it more or less closely in social and economic prestige; those from Lakewood would move largely into suburbs of higher social status on the east side or into the newer suburbs growing up to the west of Lakewood. Only 2.1 per cent would like to live in East Cleveland, or Parma, or Cleveland. East Cleveland residents would prefer to live primarily in Shaker or Cleveland Heights, more than ten times as many as would take up residence in Cleveland. No one wanted to live in Parma. Parma residents would go in equal numbers to Lakewood and to Cleveland, while a few less would move to Shaker or Cleveland Heights.

In all the suburbs those people who preferred their own suburb to any other locality gave in the main as their reasons either the ones they had given for liking that suburb or habituation. Such statements as "It is my home," "Lived here so long it seems like home," and "Force of habit of living here" express the attitudes of those who may not like certain features of the suburb in which they are living yet would not move away if they had

the opportunity. A very few would be restrained by the ownership of homes. Those preferring to live somewhere else would move either because of the things they disliked about their particular suburb or because they considered that another community offered certain advantages over the one in which they are now living. It will be noted that, excepting Parma, people would move predominantly into another suburb; the proportion preferring the city is very small and most of them want to live on the east side near the University Circle, the cultural center of Cleveland.

In regard to particular suburbs, the situation in East Cleveland presents some significant aspects. In that suburb, as has been brought out before, industries are invading residential areas, especially in the northern sections, and stores are creeping in among the homes. Here is developing a configuration of conditions which corresponds to the one in the city which caused many people to move to East Cleveland originally. Now they want to leave this suburb for the same reasons as those which prompted them to come, with some modifications. Still the house is the main consideration, but now they want to have a better house; before it was to buy a house. To be near friends was one of the most minor reasons in inducing them to come into East Cleveland but now to follow friends into the heights suburbs is a major motive. Further, a sizable number have become conscious of the desirability of living at the higher elevation of the heights and they want to live there because it is "higher" or because East Cleveland is "too low" and because the air is "fresher" and "cleaner." Lakewood "discontents" have in common with many in East Cleveland the desire to live in less densely populated areas. Those who came to Lakewood before it attained its present size object to the invasions of their "privacy" by neighbors too close spacially. According to the number of people who used the term "new" or "newer," the quality of newness in itself has some drawing power in connection with the developing suburbs on the west. While Lakewood people desiring to move mention "class of people" as frequently as do those in East Cleveland they seldom use the expression "better class of people." On the other hand, it appears in the majority of statements referring to the class of people in the suburbs preferred as place of residence by East Cleveland and Parma people. Neither does it appear in the few statements from Shaker Heights. There seems to be implied in these

answers from Shaker Heights and Lakewood (to a lesser extent) an attitude of superiority; other places may be as good but none are better. One other observation seems worth mentioning. The desire to live among people socially more desirable ranked seventh among the reasons for moving to Parma but takes first place among reasons for leaving Parma. Poor transportation ranks second.

From the expressions of likes and dislikes in connection with each suburb and the reasons given for preferring others, a few conclusions may be drawn:

1. The physical environment is a matter of major concern to people in all the suburbs. They like a clean, quiet, "roomy," healthful place in which to live. They dislike anything that tends to destroy these values, some to the extent that they would be willing to leave the suburb to gain them.

2. They want their community to supply them with good schools, efficient public services and adequate transportation. They are not so concerned, apparently, with other aspects of community organization such as shopping and recreational facilities, churches, and libraries.

3. To be near their place of work spacially is a consideration of secondary importance.

4. Suburbs of higher economic level, where there is no immediate threat to the prevailing class structure, show satisfaction with the class of people living there; suburbs of lower economic level, particularly where population change is tending to lower that level, show dissatisfaction so great that many are willing to leave the suburb.

5. Attitudes of friendliness and neighborliness in suburban life are deemed desirable but they are not so essential as good physical environment or social status of residents.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSIONS

Four residential suburbs of Cleveland have been analyzed and compared with respect to their physical structure, population composition, family and occupational structure, standards of living and mobility of families, social institutions, relationships with Cleveland, and attitudes toward suburban life. These analyses and comparisons were made in order to find out, as stated in the introduction: (1) the racial, ethnic, economic, and status factors underlying the selection of population in the residential suburb and in different types of suburbs; (2) the factors contributing to the growth and successful development of residential suburbs from the standpoint of location and structure; (3) the degree of dependence of the different types of suburbs upon the central city; (4) the degree of homogeneity in standards of living within one suburb and the degree of difference between residential suburbs; and (5) the factors influencing stability of population in the residential suburb. The main conclusions in regard to these five aspects of suburban life and structure follow:

1. It is apparent that the residential suburb through the process of selection and of segregation comes to have a high degree of homogeneity in its population. This homogeneity results from an almost exclusive white population (there are practically no Negro families but some individuals acting as servants), from the predominance of native-born over foreign-born individuals, from the concentration of the foreign-born among a few ethnic groups, and from the segregation of one or another occupational group within each suburb. The residential suburbs may be differentiated as upper, middle, or lower class according to the peculiar combination of these factors operating in each. The data suggest, although they are not conclusive, that the class status of a suburb is directly related to the ratio of upper to lower level occupational groups within the suburb and to the degree of concentration of upper level occupations in one suburb as compared with another and with the city. The constant factor seems to be the relatively high proportion of people in the middle level of occupations in each. In the suburb of highest ranking, there is a marked concentration of upper level occupational levels as compared with the city and the ratio

of the upper level occupational groups to the lower is high, one or more workers in the upper levels to one in the lower. In the middle class suburb there is less concentration in the upper level occupations compared with that in the upper class suburb, but considerably more when compared with the city, and the ratio between upper and lower levels is somewhat less than one to one (in East Cleveland it is 2.6 to 3.5). In the lower class suburb there is a concentration of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers who greatly outnumber the workers in the professional and managerial positions. In addition, the upper class suburb has the highest proportion of native-born residents and the lower class the least; and the former has a marked predominance among its foreign-born of individuals from a few ethnic groups related in culture to our own while the latter has a more even distribution of its foreign-born over several ethnic groups among which are found comparatively large groups of Slavic and Latin peoples.

2. The successful development of a residential suburb and its continued existence as such have been shown to depend to a large degree upon location and physical structure. Three factors seem essential to these ends: one, that the location of the suburb offers desirable sites for homes--desirable because it is comparatively level, because its elevation is at least high enough to prevent swamps and its soil allows for proper drainage and for laying of utility pipes of one kind or another without exorbitant expense; two, that transportation facilities may be developed which afford direct and fairly rapid connection with the city; and three, that the location is undesirable for industrial purposes, particularly from the standpoint of through transportation. Those sites which are most desirable because of high elevation or location on a lake, of natural beauty, of relief, of the direction of the prevailing winds, of accessibility to the city, and of unfavorable conditions for manufacturing plants become the upper class suburbs and have a good chance of remaining so for a comparatively long time. The upper class suburb which is favorably located for industry may sooner or later find itself in a position where its residential character is jeopardized. The lower class suburb tends to be located where the site offers little or nothing more than the essentials already mentioned for the establishment of a residential community. The middle class suburb develops where the site offers more in the way of natural advantages for suburban living than the minimum essential but less than is found in combination in the upper class. The factor of physical structure most important to the successful development of a residential suburb is the use of land for the single-family dwelling as the prevailing form of dwelling as against the use of land for apartments or commercial establishments or for industry, provided the side is favorable for its needs. In the early life of the residential suburb, there is little competition to use land for purposes other than residences and for a few stores to supply immediate consumable commodities, but as population increases, the single-family house tends to be replaced by multiple dwellings and by more commercial

establishments to supply the needs of the augmented population.

3. It is evident from the preceding chapters that every facility and service offered by the city is used to some degree by the people living in the suburbs. The majority have resided at one time or another in the city and the lower the economic level of the suburb the greater is that majority. The people of the residential suburb turn to the city for employment and for the satisfaction of shopping, financial, recreational, medical, cultural, and educational needs. Since the economic structure of the suburb provides relatively little employment, the majority of its workers find employment in the city. In this respect, the smaller suburb relies more upon the city than does the larger with its more complex organization. The suburb's dependence upon other facilities and services of the city is influenced by three factors, namely, time and facilities to reach the city, internal social and economic structure (each of which in turn is related to size of population), and the dominant social class. The suburb so located that access to the center of the city or to recreational and cultural and other sections is comparatively quick and easy by available public or private transportation facilities tends to use the services of the city to a greater extent than one not so favorably located. The suburb which is organized to provide considerable shopping facilities, recreational and cultural opportunities and medical services is less dependent than one which offers fewer such facilities and services. The large suburb has the advantage in this respect as numbers make more extensive and more varied offerings possible. The upper class suburb, because of leisure time and of the manifold interests that may be satisfied by ample financial means, tends to use more and more often the cultural and recreational offerings of the city than does the middle class or lower class suburb. The total dependence of any residential suburb, therefore, upon the central city will be the product of the particular combination of the three factors of location, internal organization, and of financial means. The segmental character of the residential suburb as indicated by its dependence upon the city is likewise brought out by inter-suburban relationships. Upper class suburbs draw population from middle class, and middle class from lower class, but in no case to the extent each attracts people from the city. Suburbs share their recreational and cultural associations and their churches, the smaller suburbs more so than the larger where there are sufficient numbers to support more or less adequately these institutions. In one respect only is the residential suburb self-sufficient: it is able to provide public education for its children.

4. The standard of living in the residential suburb is evidenced most directly by the plane on which the majority of its people live and less directly by the kind of schools, churches, and voluntary associations it supports. The suburb shows a high degree of homogeneity in its plane of living. This homogeneity is attained by the concentration of the majority of the people at one or another level in

the scale of living with some scatter of the rest around the prevailing level. In contrast, the city presents all levels of living with a weighting in the lower and lowest levels. In the larger suburbs there is less homogeneity than in the smaller. The difference in the prevailing plane of living among the suburbs is most marked, but in every case it is higher than that of the city as a whole. The difference is brought about by the quality of things possessed, by the proportion of families possessing them, and by the quantity owned by each family. The schools in their physical structure, curriculum, and extra-curricular activities, the churches through their physical structure and activities other than those determined by denominational affiliation, and the voluntary associations through number, type, and programs express the realizable values and standards of the people in each suburb. (This study presents some data which suggest that the people in the poorer suburbs have standards and values above those given objective reality in social institutions but are not realizable because of lack of means.) There is marked consistency between the kind of schools and voluntary associations found and the prevailing plane of living. The churches reflect this to a lesser degree, due no doubt to denominational factors.

5. The stability of the residential suburb depends upon the operation of ecological processes making for change in the region as manifested in population movements and in the directional trends of industrial expansion. Each suburb strives to prevent or to halt changes in its physical and social structure which threaten to alter its residential character or to lower its class status. Some of the very aspects that make living in the suburb so attractive are the ones that act to destroy themselves. Pressure of increasing numbers to live in the less densely populated suburbs where the owner-occupied single-family dwelling prevails increases density; with increased density business interests want to establish more stores, land owners are moved to build apartment houses instead of single-family dwellings, building sites tend to become smaller so that more people and people of lower economic status may move in, and better and more extensive transportation facilities are demanded which in turn make the suburb a possible residence for more people. Even industries may want to move in. The political independence of the suburb gives it some weapons with which to fight these disintegrating forces. Local legislative control through zoning and building restrictions, through deed restrictions, and through weight of community opinion collectively expressed may deter the changes which threaten its stability. The rate of change in any residential suburb will depend, therefore, upon the relative strength of the external and internal forces making for change and the internal forces striving to keep it as it is or to enhance its prestige.

In addition to these conclusions on various aspects of the residential suburb, it seems fitting to add three generalizations which have gradually evolved with the cumulation of data about the suburbs and analysis of one aspect of suburban life

after another.

1. Each residential suburb is, as a whole, a unique consistent entity which may be fitted into a hierarchical scheme based on economic and prestige values. So consistently do the parts of the whole fit together and so interrelated are they that a detailed analysis of many aspects of the structure and life of any residential suburb seems unnecessary in order to have a quite accurate conception of the character of that suburb. From a careful study of a few aspects the whole may be constructed, as an anatomist can reconstruct the entire animal from a few bones. This suggests that a more refined classification of suburbs than we now have may be possible without exhaustive research and that it is within reasonable achievement to assemble a body of knowledge about the entire suburban area of a metropolis which will be both scientifically valuable and practically useful.

2. The uniqueness of each residential suburb at any one period is due to certain basic differences which in turn act as conditioning factors out of which secondary differences emerge. These basic conditions are site, both its natural physical advantages and disadvantages and its location relative to the city and to main regional highways, origin, age, size, density and composition of population, prevailing economic level, and city-suburb transportation facilities. Origin is not so significant except in the cases of newer suburbs where the forces that brought the suburb into existence are still more or less potent. With the passage of time these initiatory influences become less and less effective in shaping the life of the community although a few may linger as traditions over a long period. Age is not important from the standpoint of years but rather from that of maturity, or stage of development in the life of the suburb into which the temporal element must necessarily enter. At any one time these basic factors, either singly or in combination but usually in combination, seem to offer explanation for the differences and likenesses in the physical structure, the social institutions, standards of living, mobility of population, community spirit and attitudes, and nature and rate of change. It is the particular combination of these basic factors that gives each residential suburb its distinctive character.

4. The suburb is the manifestation of individual efforts to attain a way of life that may be designated as suburbanism and as such it is more than a mere political entity. Suburbanism aims at the realization of certain values of both urban and rural life. Culturally it may be viewed as the resultant of the interaction of urban culture traits and of rural culture traits. Large numbers in the city's population come from localities where rural mores and customs prevail. Contact with the urban ways of living necessitates either accommodation or assimilation. Suburbanization may be viewed as an accommodative state. Suburbanism as a way of life denotes a specific kind of physical and social environment. It means more physical distance and less social distance in group living than complete urbanization presupposes, and less physical distance and more

social distance than an ideal rural society suggests. On the one hand it signifies less density of population, less heterogeneity, more personal community relationships, and more control over social institutions directly affecting home life; and on the other hand it signifies broader social contacts, less primary group control, and less social solidarity than comes from kinship and occupational oneness found in the rural manner of living. Included in the concept is the idea of communication with the city so that its educational, medical, cultural, recreational, and economic services may be readily available; of a family life less subject to the disintegrating forces of the city; of children reared under conditions resembling those of the rural community; of the reduction or elimination of the physical disadvantages of noise, smoke, dirt, and danger of traffic, and of a sense of permanency growing out of the feeling of security against change. Suburbanism as a mode of living is not limited to any one economic level or social class. It manifests itself at all levels. The degree to which suburbanism is being realized varies from suburb to suburb. In spite of all efforts, the suburb is in a vulnerable position in giving permanency to the values and standards of suburbanism. The suburb's efforts to gain permanency through zoning, and building restrictions, and through less tangible measures of social control seem able only to postpone but not to avert disorganizing processes inherent in the spread of urbanism as long as the suburb is the unplanned product of individual effort. Whether collective effort in the form of planned communities on the peripheries of cities will assure the permanency of the way of life here called suburbanism is merely a stage in the process of complete urbanization remains for the future to answer.